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A NARRATIVE

OF

THE ATTEMPTED ESCAPES

OF

CHARLES THE FIRST

FROM CARISBROOK CASTLE.

A

NARRATIVE

of the Attempted Eſcapes

OF

CHARLES THE FIRST

from *Carisbrook* Caſtle,

And of his Detention in the *Iſle of Wight*, from November, 1647, to the ſeizure of his PERSON by the ARMY, at *Newport*, in November, 1648.

INCLUDING

THE LETTERS OF THE KING

TO

COLONEL TITUS,

Now firſt Deciphered & Printed from the Originals.

BY GEORGE HILLIER.

LONDON:
RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

M.D.CCC.LII.

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TO

EDWARD S. DENDY, ESQ.,

ROUGE DRAGON PURSUIVANT OF ARMS AND EARL MARSHAL'S SECRETARY,

THIS VOLUME IS INSCRIBED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

INTRODUCTION.

SILAS TITUS was born at Buſhey, in Hertfordſhire, in 1622, and entered Chriſtchurch College, Oxford, in the year 1637; but after continuing about three years in that univerſity, he removed to one of the inns of court, and upon the breaking out of the civil war engaged in the ſervice of the Parliament, under whom he held a captain's commiſſion.

He afterwards eſpouſed the royal cauſe, being found in attendance upon King Charles the Firſt, at Cariſbrook, in the year 1648, where the remarkable correſpondence it is the eſpecial object of this volume to elucidate, was contrived. At the Treaty of Newport, he was again in waiting upon the king, after whoſe execution

he attended Charles the Second into Scotland, whence, in 1651, he was deſpatched to the queen-mother with ſecret inſtructions* reſpecting a propoſed marriage of the king with a daughter of the Marquis of Argyle.

At the battle of Worceſter he was likewiſe with his majeſty, and continued a correſpondence with him during the time of his exile; whilſt at the Treaty of Breda he repreſented the Engliſh party, in conjunction with Lord Willoughby of Parham, Major-General Maſſie, Colonel Richard Graves, and Alderman Bunce.

Captain, ultimately Colonel Titus, is however better known to the public as the author of the celebrated pamphlet, "Killing no Murder," which he publiſhed in 1657, under the fictitious name of William Allen; and in it endeavoured to prove that killing the Protector would be both a legal and meritorious act. Cromwell is ſaid to have been ſo powerfully affected by the peruſal of this publication, as to cause him ever afterwards to become gloomy and ſuſpicious, ſeldom ſleeping two nights in the ſame bed, and invariably carrying fire-arms. Having by ſome ſecret intelligence diſcovered the real author, he

* See Appendix.

made the following attempt to ſecure his perſon. Underſtanding the royaliſts were in the habit of holding meetings at a certain tavern in London, he ſent an officer, in whoſe attachment and fidelity he placed great confidence, to ſeize Colonel Titus and Firebrace. The officer ordered his men to halt at the door until he went into the houſe for further information. He there privately aſked the landlord whether Titus and Firebrace were within, aſſuring him that his purpoſe was to ſave, and not to take away their lives; and going into the room where they were, threw his red cloak over his head, and exclaimed, "if Titus or Firebrace be in the room, let them eſcape for their lives this inſtant." He then returned, and called in the ſoldiers to take them; but they, heeding his advice, had in the meantime eſcaped through the window, and mounting their horſes, proceeded into Scotland, where they joined General Monk.*

After the Reſtoration, in conſideration of the many important ſervices he had rendered, Titus was appointed one of the grooms of the

* Additions to "Camden's Britannia," by Gough; article "Huntingdon."

bedchamber, and his wife, Catherine Titus, lady of the queen's privy chamber; whilſt as a further recognition, he received an augmentation of his arms, viz. or, upon a chief embattled gu. a lion of England, paſſant-guardant or, to be borne by him and his deſcendants, quarterly, together with the arms of his family.

The grant expreſſed that this mark of favour was rendered in conſideration, "that in the years 1646, 1647, and 1648, he was by our royal father intruſted in his affairs of the greateſt importance, both in relation to his reſtitution and in order to his eſcape out of the captivity in which he was held by the rebels, for which he was by them charged with high treaſon, and forced to fly beyond the ſeas. After which, as the higheſt teſtimony of our royal father's juſtice and confidence, he did, even at the time of his execrable murder, and upon the accurſed ſcaffold, recommend him, the ſaid Silas Titus and his ſingular fidelity, unto us, by the late Archbiſhop of Canterbury then aſſiſting, who happily lived to declare the ſame; ſince when, even unto our happy reſtoration, we being as highly ſatisfied with his great prudence, loyalty, and zeal to our ſervice, have entruſted and employed him

in our moſt private affairs and deſigns, whereby he was expoſed to the greateſt dangers, had his eſtate confiſcated by the rebels, and was, by an act of theirs, condemned of high treaſon; notwithſtanding which he croſſed the ſeas in order to our ſervice about twenty times; and by his pen and practices againſt the then uſurper Oliver, vigorouſly endeavoured the deſtruction of that tyrant and his government. And after our reſtoration (being then a member of Parliament), he did as vigorouſly purſue to juſtice the accurſed regicides; and by his motion, the carcaſes of Oliver Cromwell, Bradſhaw, and Ireton, were taken up out of our royal chapel at Weſtminſter, drawn to Tyburn, there hanged, then burned under the gallows, and the heads ſet upon Weſtminſter Hall; for which, and other his ſervices and ſufferings, he has three thouſand pounds voted him by the two Houſes of Parliament, in ſuch terms as the honour thereof was equal to the gift."

After the preparation of the draft from which this extract is copied, an alteration in the intended grant ſeems however to have been made by the heralds, as the chief in his coat is not embattled.

In 1678 he was elected member of Parliament for the county of Hertford; and in the following year, by oppoſing the prerogative on the occaſion of Oates' Plot, he loſt his place at court.

In the year 1681 he was elected for Huntingdon, and ſhowed great zeal in favour of the Bill of Excluſion. The following extempore lines, which formed part of his ſpeech in oppoſition to the Duke of York's claims, have ſince been oftentimes quoted:

> "I hear a lion in the lobby roar,
> Say, Mr. Speaker, ſhall we ſhut the door?
> Or, do you rather chooſe to let him in?
> But how then ſhall we get him out again?"

In November 1687, notwithſtanding the prominent part he thus played, he procured an introduction to James the Second, after his acceſſion, by William Penn the quaker, and was the following year ſworn of the Privy Council, but retired on the abdication of the king.

Soon after the revolution, he was elected to ſerve for the borough of Ludlow, in Shropſhire; and having lived to the age of eighty-four, died in December, 1704, leaving three daughters, who were never married.

The letters and papers of Colonel Titus, together with his reſidence in Buſhey, were inherited by his deſcendant Mrs. Shorte, and as part of her fortune, conveyed by marriage to the Rev. Dr. James Ibbetſon, formerly rector of Buſhey, by whose repreſentative they have been recently ſold to the truſtees of the Britiſh Muſeum.

As deſcriptive of that remarkable epoch in the life of Charles the Firſt, his incarceration at Cariſbrook, the ſeries of fifteen letters written there by the king to Captain Titus, are invaluable; and it having appeared, upon conſideration, that many portions of England's hiſtory which were of leſs intereſt to the general reader than the events to which theſe letters refer, had been more fully chronicled, it was reſolved, in connection with their publication, to collect into one perfect whole the many ſcattered illuſtrations of the ſingular incidents attendant on the reſidence of Charles in the Iſle of Wight.

From this determination originated the following pages;* and in offering them to the

* I would here acknowledge the valuable advice and kindly co-operation I have received in furtherance of the deſign, from John Henry Hearn, Eſq. of Newport.

public, I would only wiſh to remark, that my endeavour has been the rather to preſent an intereſting ſummary of all the recorded facts I could diſcover bearing on the ſubject, than to produce a ſelf-opinionated effuſion, perhaps ſatisfactory neither to myſelf nor my reader.

Under theſe circumſtances the work has been compiled; and my only hope is, that the immenſity of intereſt which is attached to all retroſpections of this memorable time, will create for it the little attention which, in a literary point of view, it could not claim, and I have no pretenſion to aſk.

GEORGE HILLIER.

LONDON, *Auguſt* 1852.

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NARRATIVE

OF THE

DETENTION OF CHARLES I.

IN THE

ISLE OF WIGHT.

CHAPTER I.

The King comes to the Iſle of Wight.

THE details of the flight of King Charles the Firſt to the Iſle of Wight, in the month of November, 1647, gave riſe to ſo much theoretical ſpeculation, as well as variety of repreſentations, on the part of nearly all contemporary writers and after commentators, that an endeavour was made by the late Lord Aſhburnham, in the attempted vindication of his anceſtor's reputation in the affair, to unveil much of the obſcurity in which the hiſtory of the tranſaction had been concealed; and the intereſt which is

attached to every occurrence connected with that diſturbed unhappy period of our hiſtory, eſpecially in connection with thoſe who were in immediate attendance upon the unfortunate monarch, muſt ſerve therefore as the reaſon for bringing the following pages before the public.*

The king, having a ſuſpicion that his life would be endangered if he remained at Hampton Court, where he was then reſiding, reſolved, after a conference with Sir John Berkeley, and Mr. Aſhburnham and Mr. Legg, grooms of his chambers, to retire from thence to the Iſle of Wight, where he would have an opportunity of ſojourning with his tried and right loyal adherent Sir John Oglander,† until the feeling of Colonel Robert Hammond, who was then governor of the iſland, could be aſcertained. Early on the evening of the 11th of

* The principal publiſhed authorities from which information can be derived relative to the king's reſidence in the Iſle of Wight are, Aſhburnham's "Narrative," Berkeley's "Memoirs," Herbert's "Memoirs," Firebrace's "Narrative," Warwick's "Memoirs," Cook's "Narrative;" all attendants on his majeſty. Clarendon's "Hiſtory of the Rebellion," the various Hiſtories of England, Journals of the Houſes of Parliament, Wagſtaffe's "Vindication," Ruſhworth's "Collections," Maſere's "Tracts," —collection of cotemporary pamphlets, Lingard's "Hiſtory," Peck's "Deſiderata," Clarendon's "State Papers," &c. &c. &c.

† Of Nunwell Houſe, near Brading.

November, 1647, after leaving three letters on his bed-room table, addreſſed to the Parliament, Colonel Whalley, and Lord Montague, wherein he ſtated his reaſons for privately withdrawing from the palace, the king accordingly made his way from his apartments, through a door where no guard was ſet, into the park unperceived, at once croſſed the Thames by means of a boat ready to convey him, and landed at Ditton, where Aſhburnham had been previouſly reſiding, and where his majeſty was received by him, Sir John Berkeley, and Mr. Legg. In their company, he immediately directed his courſe into Hampſhire; but on arriving within twenty miles of the coaſt, Charles ordered Mr. Aſhburnham and Sir John Berkeley to proceed to the iſland, and aſcertain how the Governor would receive him—a command they were reluctantly compelled to obſerve; whilſt he at the ſame time, accompanied only by Mr. Legg, progreſſed towards Tichfield Houſe, the reſidence of the Earl of Southampton, where, in the abſence of her ſon, he was entertained by the old Counteſs of that name, during the time his adherents were proſecuting their miſſion in the Iſle of Wight.

Colonel Hammond, at this time Governor of the iſland, was the ſecond ſon of Robert Hammond of Chertſey, in Surrey, Eſq., elder brother of Dr. Henry Hammond, the eminent divine, and chaplain to the king, and ſon of the phyſician to Prince Henry, Dr. John Hammond, whoſe daughter Jane married Sir John Dingley, of the Iſle of Wight. Colonel Hammond was born in the year 1621, entered a commoner of Magdalen Hall, in the Univerſity of Oxford, in the year 1632,* and having continued there three years, left the Univerſity without the honour of a degree. Upon the breaking out of the war in 1642, he engaged in arms on the ſide of the Parliament, by the perſuaſion of his uncle, Thomas Hammond, then captain of horſe, and afterwards lieutenant-general of the ordnance, by whoſe intereſt his nephew was made a captain, and then major, under Colonel Edward Maſſey, during the ſiege of Glouceſter. In the courſe of this ſiege he killed a Major Gray for giving him the lie, when he was ordered to be tried by the Council of War in the Lord-General's army,† by whom, however, he appears to have been

* Dr. Birch, in a note to Hammond's "Letters."

† Whitelock, page 106, ed. 1732.

acquitted. He was afterwards raiſed to the rank of colonel of a regiment of foot, in which he continued until the end of the war; and on the 6th September, 1647, by an ordinance of both Houſes of Parliament,* was appointed "Captain and Governor of the Iſle of Wight, and of all ports, forts, towers, and places of ſtrength therein, until the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled ſhall otherwiſe order;" and, on the 9th of the ſame month, it was likewiſe ordered that Mr. Bulkeley and Mr. Liſle, and the reſt of the gentlemen that ſerve for the Iſle of Wight, do go down with the Governor, for the better ſettling him in the government of the ſaid iſle: it being alſo worthy of remark, that the ordinance contained a clauſe, wherein it was ſtated that "the ſaid Colonel Robert Hammond be ſubject to the commands of Sir Thomas Fairfax, Knight, Commander-in-chief of all the land forces in the kingdom of England, and in the pay of the Parliament," ſhowing that, although ſubordinate in matters ſtrictly military, in the civil appointment of Governor he was dependent on the Parliament alone,—a fact which enables a poſitive inference

* Commons' and Lords' "Journals."

to be drawn of the jealouſy which exiſted in the Preſbyterian party of that time relative to the power to which the organiſation of the army was then rapidly tending.

The king's parting inſtructions to Aſhburnham and Berkeley were, that they ſhould carry to Hammond a copy of the letter his majeſty had left at Hampton Court, and of two letters ſent to him—one by Cromwell,* and the other with only the initials E. R. attached—which laſt-named communication contained great apprehenſion and fears of the ill intentions of the levelling party in the army and the city againſt his majeſty, and ſtated that Mr. Dell and Mr. Peters, two of the preachers of the army, would willingly bear company in the deſign; for they had often ſaid to theſe agitators, "Your majeſty is but as a dead dog;" Cromwell's eſpecially adding, that in proſecution thereof a new guard was the next day to be put upon his majeſty of that party. The king's letter expreſſed his diſtruſt of the diſorderly part of the army, and his neceſſity thereupon to provide for his own ſafety, which he would do ſo as not to deſert the

* See Whalley's Letter to Lenthall, in Peck's "Deſiderata Curioſa."

intereſts of the army; whilſt he verbally deſired them, at the ſame time, to intimate to Hammond, that he made choice of him as one in whom he imagined he could confide, on account of his being a perſon of good extraction; and that, although he had declared againſt him in the war, he had ſtill never ſhown any animoſity, but, on the contrary, had ſpoken in terms of reſpect towards his perſon. His majeſty's purpoſe in ſending to him being, that he might not ſurpriſe him, and to requeſt a promiſe of protection to the beſt of his power for himſelf and his ſervants; and if it ſhould happen he had neither the ability nor inclination to forward his deſires, that he ſhould ſuffer thoſe by whom he was addreſſed to depart freely and unmoleſted. Berkeley, however, making rejoinder that he knew nothing of Hammond, and, therefore, could not tell whether he might not detain them in the iſland; and ſhould they not return by the next day, his majeſty had better ſecure his own eſcape, without looking to their ſafety. Berkeley alſo ſtates in his memoirs, that on his afterwards interrogating Aſhburnham concerning his acquaintance with the governor, he elicited that "he knew but little, yet had lately ſome diſ-

courſe with him upon the highways near Kingſton (*upon Thames*), and found him not averſe to his majeſty; but that which made him conceive the beſt hope of him was, the character Mr. Denham (*The Cavalier Poet*) and the commendations my Lady Iſabella Thynn gave him."

On reaching Lymington, the inclemency of the weather prevented them croſſing the Solent until the next morning, when they made their way from thence to Cariſbrook, arriving there between ten and eleven o'clock; and having learned that Hammond had gone to Newport, to meet ſome gentlemen and officers connected with the iſland, followed and overtook him; Berkeley, apparently in a moſt unſkilful and abrupt manner, at once telling him the king had left Hampton Court, under dread of aſſaſſination, and was then in the neighbourhood: to which Hammond made anſwer, "that he knew not what courſe to take;"* but having, upon ſerious conſideration, weighed the great concernment that the perſon of the king was of, on this junction of affairs, to the ſettlement of the peace of the kingdom, reſolved it his duty to the king, to the Parliament, and the kingdom,

* Hammond's "Letter" in Ruſhworth.

to uſe the utmoſt of his endeavours to preſerve his perſon from any ſuch horrid attempt, and to bring him to a place of ſafety, where he might alſo be in a capacity of anſwering the expectations of Parliament and the kingdom, in agreeing to ſuch things as might extend to the ſettlement of thoſe great diviſions and diſtractions which abound in every corner thereof." On this much controverſy enſued, and diſtruſt as to Hammond's character evidently ſprung up in the minds of both Aſhburnham and Berkeley; it being, however, ultimately agreed, that Berkeley ſhould remain at the caſtle, whilſt Aſhburnham took horſe and returned to the king, with the vague intimation from Hammond, "that he believed his majeſty had made choice of him as a perſon of honour and honeſty, to lay this great truſt upon, and, therefore, he would not deceive his majeſty's expectations." Berkeley, hereupon, to uſe his own language, "embraced the motion moſt readily, and immediately went over the bridge into the caſtle, though I had the image of the gallows very perfectly before me. Mr. Aſhburnham, I believe, went with a better heart to horſe; but before he was gone half a flight-ſhot, the governor (being before the caſtle-gate)

called to him, and had a conference of at leaſt a quarter of an hour with him; to what purpoſe I never knew, until I came into Holland, where a gentleman of good worth and quality told me that the governor affirmed afterwards in London, and in many places, that he then offered Mr. Aſhburnham that I ſhould go, and he ſhould ſtay, as believing his majeſty to be leſs willing to expoſe him than me, but that Mr. Aſhburnham abſolutely refuſed. Whatever paſſed between them, I am ſure they both came back to me: and the governor, putting himſelf between us, ſaid, that he would ſay which he was ſure ought to content any reaſonable man, which was, that he did believe his majeſty relied on him as on a perſon of honour and honeſty, and, therefore, he did engage himſelf to us to perform whatever could be expected from a perſon of honour and honeſty. Before I could make any, Mr. Aſhburnham made this reply, '*I will aſk no more.*' The governor then added, 'Let us then all go to the king and acquaint him with it.' Mr. Aſhburnham anſwered, '*With all my heart.*' I then broke from the governor, who held me in his hand, and went to Mr. Aſhburnham and ſaid, 'What, do you mean to

carry this man to the king, before you know whether his majeſty will approve of this undertaking, or no? Undoubtedly you will ſurpriſe him.' Mr. Aſhburnham ſaid nothing, but '*I'll warrant you.*' 'And ſo you ſhall,' ſaid I; 'for you know the king much better than I do; and, therefore, when we ſhall come where the king is, I aſſure you I will not ſee him before you have ſatisfied his majeſty concerning your proceeding.' Well, he would take that upon him. I then deſired he would not let the governor carry any other perſon with him, that in all events we might the more eaſily ſecure him, which he conſented to."

This, as I have already ſtated, is Sir John Berkeley's narrative of this remarkable interview; to which Aſhburnham's verſion differs in many reſpects, but, evidently, ſo far only as to endeavour to exculpate himſelf from any blame which might be attributed to the prominent part he certainly played in the extraordinary meaſure of Hammond's accompanying them to the king, which propoſition, if it did not originate with him, undoubtedly received his firſt and full concurrence.

Sir Philip Warwick, in his Memoirs,* writes: "I never had occaſion, but once at the Iſle of Wight, to ſpeak with the king upon this affair, and it was by an accident, or the king's letting himſelf into that diſcourſe; and he did but touch upon it, nor durſt I ſeem to be more inquiſitive. But when I mentioned that the world had an ill opinion of my friend Mr. Aſhburnham's guiding him thither, I remember he freely replied, '*I do no way believe he was unfaithful to me; but I think he wanted courage at that time,*' (which I interpreted his majeſty meant, his not ſtaying with the governor,) '*whom I never knew wanted it before.*'"

On the completion of the arrangement juſt related, Aſhburnham and Berkeley, accompanied by the governor, at once proceeded to Cowes; where Hammond, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of his companions, was joined by Captain Baſkett, who held the command of the caſtle there, and two ſervants, and from thence croſſed the channel to Tichfield, when Aſhburnham alone went upſtairs to the king, and aſtounded him by announcing the governor's

* Page 306.

preſence, who, he ſaid, had come with them to make good what he had promiſed. The king, ſtriking himſelf on his breaſt, exclaimed, "What, have you brought Hammond with you? O Jack, you have undone me; for I am by this means made faſt from ſtirring." To which Mr. Aſhburnham replied, "that if he miſtruſted Hammond, he would undertake to remove him;" a propoſition the king moſt diſdainfully rejected by ſaying, "I underſtand you well enough; but the world would not excuſe me. For if I ſhould follow that counſel, it would be ſaid and believed that he (Hammond) had ventured his life for me, and that I had unworthily taken it from him. No, it is now too late to think of anything but going through the way you have forced upon me, and to leave the iſſue with God;" and as if Fortune had ſet herſelf to confound his plans and fruſtrate his hopes, he was not allowed even a few moments to think calmly over his fate and let reſolution fix itſelf, for Hammond and Baſkett grew ſo impatient, a ſervant belonging to Lord Southampton was obligated to remind his majeſty they were in attendance; conſequently, in about half an hour their preſence was deſired, and after

kiſſing the king's hand were received cheerfully by him, the king addreſſing the governor to this effect:—"Hammond, after an intolerable reſtraint to my perſon at Hampton Court, I found there was a further deſign againſt my perſon, by ſome which inſinuated themſelves into divers regiments of the army; and having an earneſt deſire of the ſettling of the kingdom in ſuch ſort as might beſt conduce to a laſting peace throughout my dominions, and not to be an inſtrument of ſtirring up a new war, I have thought good to come in this place, with confidence of your fidelity in protecting my perſon from danger, until, by ſuch addreſſes as ſhall be made unto us by the Parliament, there be a mutual agreement concluded, and our kingdom ſettled." *

To which Hammond declared "that he tendered his majeſty's perſon above his own life, and would not fail in doing his utmoſt in fulfilling his majeſty's juſt deſires (in relation to the orders and directions which he ſhould receive from the Parliament):" thus promiſing more unreſervedly than he had done to Aſhburnham and Berkeley at Cariſbrook. His majeſty, how-

* Tracey's Letter from Cowes Caſtle, November 17, 1647.

ever, taking Berkeley aſide, ſaid to him, "Sir John Berkeley, I hope you are not ſo paſſionate as Jack Aſhburnham?" pathetically adding, "Do you think you have followed my inſtructions?" Anſwer was made by Berkeley:—"No, indeed, ſir; but it is none of my fault, as Mr. Aſhburnham can tell you if he pleaſes: I have expoſed my life to prevent it;" repeating the ſubſtance of what had paſſed, particularly of his being a priſoner in the caſtle, and of Aſhburnham's firſt leaving without him, facts, it appears, he in his ſtatement had omitted.

Further temporiſing being now uſeleſs, the king, attended by Hammond, Baſket, Aſhburnham, Sir John Berkeley, and Mr. Legg, left Tichfield Houſe for Cowes, where they remained during the night, the king ſojourning at an alehouſe,* as the caſtle was then appropriated for a priſon, and the next morning ſaw the unfortunate Charles quietly conducted to the caſtle of Cariſbrook. In his progreſs thither "a gentlewoman, as he paſſed through Newport, preſented him with a damaſk roſe, which grew in her garden at that cold ſeaſon of the year, and prayed for him, which his majeſty heartily

* Oglander MSS.

thanked her for;"* an incident ſingularly and intereſtingly illuſtrated in the following communication. The writer ſays, "When viſiting Paris ſome years ſince, in looking over the catalogue of the gallery of the Luxembourg,† the name of "Newport, l'Ile de Wight," caught my eye when curiouſly ſcanning its pages, and on examination I found the ſubject of the picture to be the ſuppoſed voluntary ſurrender of King Charles to Moſes Read the mayor, and a young girl, 'Frances Trattle,' preſenting the king at the time with a roſe. This deſcription was intereſting to me, and the inſpection of the picture equally ſo, as I found the corn-market place moſt accurately pourtrayed; the ſmall houſes ſtanding in the angles of the church, the butchers' ſhambles, and the old corn-market houſe, drawn in exact accordance with the deſcription afforded

* Herbert's "Memoirs."

† In the ſucceeding editions of this Catalogue the picture ſtill appears, but thus deſcribed:—

"82. Sujet tiré de la vie de Charles 1er.

"'Charles 1er, apres ſ'etre echappé d'Hampton-Court, vint ſe livrer au gouverneur de Newport, qui, apres de longues heſitations, le fit arreter et conduire priſſonnier au château de Cariſbrook. Au moment ou il traverſait la place, une jeune fille, touchée de ſon abattement et de ſes malheurs, ſ'approcha de lui et lui offrit une roſe.'"

by our muniments; it being alſo equally correct that Moſes Read was mayor of Newport at this time."

In thus proceeding to the Iſle of Wight, the king had probably ſettled on no particular place in preference to another, his flight having been ſo ſudden; although it is believed he had originally intended to ſail for Jerſey, and had ſtill ſome hopes to procure a veſſel. The ſhip was mentioned, but there was no time to procure one, and the reſult was as I have deſcribed.

There can, however, be little, if any, doubt but that Charles was unthinkingly purſuing the courſe which Cromwell's machinations had been deviſed to drive him upon; it being alſo evident that the circumſtance of Cromwell's informing Colonel Whalley, the officer who commanded at Hampton Court, of the deſign of the agitators to ſeize the king's perſon, was done with the ſole intent of inſtigating Charles to remove from thence: but to believe that Hammond had been placed in the Iſle of Wight in readineſs to receive the king is morally impoſſible, there having been no viſible cauſe to direct his majeſty's flight in that direction—the one circumstance fortuitouſly and caſually led to the other.

Hammond's firſt care was to deſpatch information of the king's arrival in the iſland to Cromwell, who, almoſt immediately after the receipt of the intelligence, began to direct his energies againſt thoſe proceedings in the regiments which had been firſt introduced into the army by his connivance, and fomented for his own ambitious ends, making Fairfax the dupe of himſelf and his coadjutors, Ireton and Skipton. Ludlow, Aſhburnham, Berkeley, Hobbes in his *Behemoth*, and others, ſpeak of the inſtitution to which I am now alluding as "adjutators," although the correct appellation was the ſignificant one of *agitators;* Mr. Godwin, in his hiſtory of the commonwealth, explaining their office as one deviſed to aid the regular councils of war, and to *agitate* ſuch queſtions as the intereſts of the army required to have conſidered. At firſt two perſons were choſen, by the private ſoldiers of each troop or company, to form a kind of ſubordinate council, whilſt the ſuperior officers arrayed a general aſſembly of themſelves; but this body being found too numerous, the elective principle was adopted, and two or more repreſentatives, either ſoldiers or ſubalterns, were choſen for each regi-

ment,—a council of agitators: a captain of horſe in Fairfax's regiment, named Berry, who had formerly been a gardener, but was now a confidential ally of Cromwell's, being choſen as the preſident ſoon after its inſtitution. At this juncture three of the principals were tried, and one ſummarily executed at the rendezvous at Ware; a procedure which, having partially reſtored the neceſſary diſcipline, Cromwell, under the advice of Ireton, aſſembled a council of officers at Windſor, to deliberate on the ſettlement of the nation and the future diſpoſition of the king's perſon. In this conference, ſays Hume, following Clarendon, "which commenced with devout prayers, poured forth by Cromwell himſelf and other inſpired perſons, was firſt opened the daring, cruel, and unheard-of counſel of bringing the king to juſtice, and of puniſhing by a judicial ſentence their ſovereign for his pretended tyranny and mal-adminiſtration."* Cromwell well knowing that while the king lived, whether in priſon or at large, he muſt be the rallying point for the efforts of thoſe large bodies of his ſubjects who were ſincerely attached to the monarchy and to his

* See Hallam's "Conſtitutional Hiſtory," vol. ii. p. 303.

perſon, and of all thoſe other numerous claſſes who were now diſguſted with the oppreſſive domination and immenſe pecuniary levies of the army and the Parliament.* "To murder him privately," ſays Hume, "was expoſed to the imputation of injuſtice and cruelty, aggravated by the baſeneſs of ſuch a crime. Some unexpected procedure muſt, therefore, be attempted, which would aſtoniſh the world by its novelty, would bear the ſemblance of juſtice, and would cover its barbarity by the audaciouſneſs of the enterpriſe." And towards ſuch a conſummation, events from this memorable ſurrender of the king to Colonel Hammond quickly progreſſed.

"And Hampton ſhows what part
He had of wiſer art,
Where, twining ſubtle fears with hope,
He wove a net of ſuch a ſcope,
That Charles himſelf might chaſe
To Cariſbrook's narrow caſe." †

* Trial of Charles the Firſt.

† Andrew Marvell's "Ode on Cromwell's Return from Ireland."

CHAPTER II.

Hammond's Proceedings after the King's Arrival—Reception of the Warrants for the Arreſt of Aſhburnham, Berkeley, and Legg—Interviews of the Parliamentarian and Scottiſh Commiſſioners with the King, and his Rejection of the four Bills—Paſſing of the Ordinance of no further Communications with the King—Extracts from contemporary Pamphlets—Firſt propoſed Eſcape, and diſmiſſal of Aſhburnham, Berkeley, Legg, and other attendants

THE hiſtory of the Caſtle of Cariſbrook may be ſaid to commence with the burial of Withgar, and conclude with the impriſonment of Charles, and although amongſt the thouſands who annually make their pilgrimage to this hallowed relic, which ſeems to exiſt but as a mere phantom of paſt ſcenes—one of thoſe refreſhing tombſtones which tell of the mailed power of the baronial times and the conflict between civilization and feudaliſm, there are

doubtleſs but few who have heard of the Saxon chieftain, yet none look on the moſs-woven tapeſtry of its walls without beſtowing some pitying ejaculation on the ſorrows of the monarch who was so long immured within them, or fail to ponder on the sad but too true a tale of the endeavours of a few faithful adherents to releaſe him from the keeping of men whoſe ſympathies were none of his.

Cariſbrook was at this time, 1647, a ſtructure of ſucceſſive eras, and conſequently incongruous deſign, ranging from the reigns of the firſt Plantagenets to that of Elizabeth, when the old caſtle had been ſurrounded by a counter-ſcarp, and many of the internal buildings reconſtructed under the ſuperintendence of Genebella, an Italian engineer of conſiderable eminence; but although ſcarcely a century had elapſed ſince theſe repairs were effected, its ſtrength had already become conſiderably impaired. The governor's houſe then conſiſted of a portion of the habitation of the early lords, and of the more lofty elevation erected by Montacute, Earl of Saliſbury, who held the lordſhip of the iſland in the reign of Richard the Second, which ſtill

remains nearly in its priſtine ſtate, having his arms ſculptured on one of the buttreſſes, and was appropriated as the royal lodging on the king's arrival,—a fact eaſily deducible from the evidence which exiſts, of there having been three rooms immediately over each other, an arrangement no other part of the fortreſs then preſented.

Having ſecured the perſon of the king, Hammond's firſt care was, to convey an intimation of the incident to Cromwell, in priority to a letter he diſpatched to both Houſes of Parliament, containing the like information, but uſing in addition this remarkable expreſſion, "found the king near the water-ſide (at Tichfield), *and conceiving myſelf no way able to ſecure him there*, I choſe (he deſiring it) to bring him over into this iſland, where he now is. My lord (Mancheſter), my endeavour (as for my life) ſhall be to preſerve and *ſecure his perſon.*" A ſecond letter was at the ſame time received couched in ſimilar terms from Captain Baſkett, governor of Cowes Caſtle;* and a debate ariſing upon the ſubject-matter of their

* Ruſhworth, p. 847, vol. iv., part 2.

contents, it was referred to a committee of both Houſes further to conſider the buſineſs, and draw up inſtructions for Colonel Hammond reſpecting the diſpoſal of his majeſty's perſon during his ſtay there. Captain Rolph, the bearer of Hammond's communication, having 20*l.* given him by the Commons, and the perſon who conveyed Baſkett's, 10*l.* Whilſt on the 17th November, Wedneſday, a letter of thanks to Colonel Hammond was reported and paſſed, and the inſtructions concerning his majeſty paſſed both houſes, the Lords the ſame day ſending a meſſage to the Commons, with a liſt of ſuch perſons as might attend his majeſty in the Iſle of Wight, which they referred to the committee of revenue.

Theſe inſtructions (called the firſt or old inſtructions) are set forth in ſeveral cotemporary pamphlets, but are ſtill worth tranſcribing:

"Die Martis, 16 Nov. 1647.

"Reſolved by the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled:

"1. That the ſecureſt place, during the time

the houſes ſhall think fit to continue him in the Iſle of Wight, be Cariſbrook Caſtle.

" 2. That no perſon who hath been in arms, or aſſiſted in this unnatural war againſt the Parliament, be permitted to come or remain in the ſaid iſle during the king's reſidence there, unleſs they be inhabitants of the iſle, and have compounded with the Parliament.

" 3. That no perſon who hath been in arms, &c., ſhall be permitted to come into the king's preſence, or into any fort or caſtle in the ſaid iſle during the king's reſidence there, although he be an inhabitant, and hath compounded with the Parliament.

" 4. That no ſtranger or perſon of a foreign nation ſhall be permitted to come into the king's preſence without (the) directions of both houſes: except ſuch as have warrant from the Parliament of Scotland, or from the committee of that Parliament, thereunto authorized, and are not diſabled by the propoſitions agreed on by both kingdoms.

" 5. That a ſufficient guard be appointed by Colonel Hammond, governor of the ſaid iſle, for ſecurity of the king's perſon from any

violence, and (for) preventing his departing the ſaid iſle without the directions of both houſes."

The popular opinion throughout the iſland had, however, ſet in greatly favourable for the king after his arrival, whilſt the garriſon of the Caſtle of Cariſbrook conſiſted but of twelve old men who had ſerved under the Earl of Portland; and as no reſtraint was perceptibly put upon the king's movements, it was conſidered he might chooſe his own time of leaving the iſland—a feeling of ſecurity which was, however, too ſoon to be diſpelled; for on the receipt of theſe inſtructions, Hammond inſtantly iſſued orders commanding "all maſters of boats belonging to Hampſhire or the Iſle of Wight, that they ſhould land neither perſons nor goods, in any part of the iſland, but at Yarmouth Caſtle, Cowes Caſtle, and Ryde, where alſo a guard was placed with directions as at the two firſt-named caſtles, to examine all perſons landing, and to detain and ſecure thoſe who could not give a very good account of themſelves or their buſineſs;"* it being, however,

* Hammond's Letter to the Speaker of the Houſe of Lords, Nov. 19.

likewiſe incumbent on me to ſtate that at his firſt coming Hammond endeavoured, by every outward appearance, to make the king's lodgement in the caſtle partake more of the nature of the entertainment of a gueſt than a priſoner,* accompanying him whilſt hunting in the foreſt of Parkhurſt, which was at that time plentifully ſtocked with deer; and believing his houſe to be badly ordered for his majeſty's comfort, he being a bachelor, ſent for his mother, who was then reſiding at Chertſey,† to ſuperintend his domeſtic arrangements, whilſt on a repreſentation to the Houſe of Commons of the inſufficiency of his houſehold appointments,‡ it was ordered on the 24th of November, "that the ſeals ſhould be removed from his majeſty's bedchamber at Hampton Court, and the furniture therein tranſmitted and employed for his preſent service." The gentry of the iſland were alſo allowed freely to viſit the court, and many of them admitted to kiſs the king's

* On the Thurſday after his arrival, he viſited and dined with Sir John Oglander at Nunwell.—Oglander MSS.

† Tracey's Letter from Cowes Caſtle.

‡ Hammond's Letter, 16th Nov.

hand, the inhabitants of Newport further declaring themſelves as promiſing ſecurity to his majeſty's perſon, and to preſerve and defend him from all danger whatſoever.

The ſudden and unexpected eſcape of the king made a great impreſſion upon the minds of moſt of his ſubjects, every man's predilections imagining he would act the part he wiſhed him to perform; and although Charles at this time was undoubtedly inſincere with all parties, excepting the old and devoted royaliſts, now headed by the Marquis of Ormond, who, after making terms with the Parliament in Ireland, had been permitted to come over to England, it is a queſtion, conſidering the peculiarity of his poſition, if the charge of perfidy can with any degree of juſtice be urged againſt the vanquiſhed and more than half-dethroned monarch, for receiving the overtures of the three prominent parties, and for being willing to cloſe either with the Scots, the army, or the Parliament, accordingly as the offers of the one or the other were baſed on the greateſt probability of ultimate advantage.

On the 17th of November the king addreſſed

a letter to both Houſes of Parliament, containing propoſals for a perſonal treaty in London, which was read in the Houſe of Commons on the 19th of the ſame month without comment, and on the ſame day a communication was tranſmitted by Hammond from Cariſbrook, wherein he ſtates, "that yeſterday there came to me an officer belonging to the ſerjeant of the Houſe of Commons, with particular warrants for the apprehending and bringing up in ſafe cuſtody the perſons of Mr. John Aſhburnham, Mr. William Legg, and Sir John Berkeley, who came hither with the king, the ſaid warrants requiring my aſſiſtance to and aid here in the execution of them, but with no order to me from either or both houſes for that purpoſe; and finding the matter to be of very great importance, I have deſired the meſſenger to forbear the execution of his warrants till I have given the houſes to underſtand that in caſe the ſaid warrants ſhould be ſerved and put in execution, it would be impoſſible for me to anſwer the expectations of Parliament in preſerving the perſon of the king in ſecurity to be diſpoſed (of) by them, unleſs I ſhould keep him cloſe priſoner, which is a buſineſs of that nature, that it is

neither fit nor ſafe for me to do, eſpecially of myſelf."

Further adding, that the king intimates "in caſe theſe gentlemen be taken from him, and puniſhed as evil doers, for counſelling him not to go out of the kingdom, but rather to come to the place where he now is, and for their endeavouring accordingly in attending him hither, he cannot but himſelf expect to be dealt with accordingly, his caſe being the ſame; and from ſuch apprehenſions, your lordſhip may eaſily judge what he will do by his former actings, he having that liberty which hath ever been allowed him ſince hath he been diſpoſed (of) by the Parliament.

"My lord, I ſhall further let you know, that beſides the care I ſhall always have of theſe gentlemen, they have engaged their honours not to depart from me, ſo that I am moſt confident of their ſecurity.

"And truly, were not their ends the ſame with their pretences (in relation to the peace of this kingdom), I am confident they would never have adviſed nor conducted the king to this place.

"Beſides, were they at this time removed

from the king, there would be none left for his attendance, which (beſides the offence) how great the inconvenience would be to him your lordſhip cannot be ignorant.

"And further, give me leave to add (if ſo unworthy a ſervant of your lordſhip as I am, and that which concerns my honour, were at all worthy your conſideration) whether it would not much reflect upon me, in caſe theſe gentlemen ſhould be thus removed from hence, the king and themſelves having freely thrown themſelves upon me for ſafety upon confidence (as they pleaſe to ſay) of my honour and honeſty, and the ſatisfaction they expect it would have given the Parliament, the king being neceſſitated to remove."*

In addition to the serjeant's meſſenger, there was alſo a command forwarded to Hammond by Sir Thomas Fairfax, "that he ſhould with all ſpeed and conveniency ſend up Sir John Berkeley, Mr. John Aſhburnham, and Mr. Legg, and the gentlemen that went with his majeſty from Hampton now reſiding in the Iſle of Wight, that they may give an account

* Hammond's Letter, publiſhed by R. Ibbitſon, Smithfield, 1647.

to the Parliament of his majeſty's proceedings and carriage in his journey from Hampton to the Iſle of Wight, and in caſe he ſhould ſtand in need of men to guard them up or the like, his excellency hath ordered Captain Peck's troop to Redbridge, near Southampton," a private injunction to the ſame effect being likewiſe found in a letter from Ireton of the 21ſt November, 1647; but notwithſtanding theſe repreſentations, Hammond's interceſſion ſeems to have prevailed with the houſe, as no ulterior meaſures were adopted againſt them, and the warrants iſſued by the ſpeaker for this purpoſe were called in on a motion of Cromwell's the 2nd of December. The king had, therefore, as yet little apparent reaſon to repent his confidence; but the governor, whilſt he granted every indulgence to his captive, had evidently no intention of ſeparating his own lot from that of the army. He conſulted the officers at head-quarters, and ſecretly reſolved to adhere to their inſtructions.*

In No. 6 of the *Mercurius Anti-pragmaticus* of the 25th November, 1647, there appears ſo quaint and ſtrangely prophetic a paragraph in connection with the foregoing matter, that I

* Lingard, vol. viii. p. 191.

cannot forbear quoting it, believing it not altogether foreign to the ſubject before me. "But the king being gone, it is good to fear the children's ſhoes be made of the ſame running leather, and therefore the houſes have ſent a meſſage to the Earl of Northumberland, their guardian, to have a ſtrict eye over them, that they be not ſtolen away, and have alſo ordered that Sir John Berkeley and Mr. Aſhburnham be examined, as, concerning the matter of the king's departure, it is good policy to keep them from reſiding near his majeſty, he loving the one (Aſhburnham) as well as ever the Second Edward did his *Piers* (Pierce) *Gaveſton*, and who is likely to bring as many inconveniences upon his majeſty as ever that fantaſtic minion did upon his deluded lord. This firedrake led his majeſty out of the way cleane when he forſook Oxford in diſguiſe, and ſhould have come to London, and not into the Scottiſh camp; but his majeſty will have better guides when he forſakes the Iſle of Wight; he forſook paradise for this iſle, and when he leaves it and comes to his palace at Weſtminſter, it's but a ſtep to heaven."

On the 14th December following, the Parlia-

ment paſſed four reſolutions drawn up in the form of four Acts, which, when the king had ſigned, he was to be admitted to a perſonal treaty in London. The firſt of theſe propoſitions enacted, after veſting the command of the army in the Parliament for twenty years, it might, at the expiration of that time, be reſtored to the crown, but not without the previous conſent of the Lords and Commons, and that ſtill whenever they ſhould declare the ſafety of the kingdom to be concerned, all bills paſſed by them reſpecting the ſea or land forces ſhould be deemed Acts of Parliament, even though the king, for the time being, ſhould refuſe his aſſent—the ſecond declared all oaths, proclamations and proceedings againſt the Parliament during the war void and of no effect—the third annulled all titles of honour granted ſince the 20th of May, 1642, and deprived all peers to be created hereafter of the right of ſitting in Parliament without the conſent of the two houſes, and the laſt gave to the houſes themſelves the power of adjourning from place to place at their diſcretion.*

The Scottiſh commiſſioners who had poſſibly been acted on by Lauderdale, Lanark, and

* Journals, vol. ix. p. 575.

Berkeley, and who had received ſeveral communications from the king himſelf, through the agency of Dr. Gough, one of the queen's chaplains, proteſted againſt ſending theſe bills to Charles before he ſhould be treated with in London, nevertheleſs the Commiſſioners appointed by the two houſes—the Earls of Digby, Northumberland, Kent, Rutland, Pembroke, Saliſbury, Warwick, and Mulgrave, on the part of the Lords; and Mr. Bulkeley, Mr. Liſle, Mr. Robert Goodwin, and Mr. Kemp, on the part of the Commons, together with their chaplains Mr. Marſhall and Mr. Rye, proceeded to the Iſle of Wight; and on the 24th of December, at two o'clock in the afternoon, preſented theſe bills to the king at Cariſbrook, his majeſty returning for anſwer "he was aſſured that they could not expect a preſent reply, but he would take the ſame into conſideration, and give his anſwer in a few days." Consequently four days were allowed for a reply, in obedience to the orders of the houſe. The next day, however, there came the Scottiſh Commiſſion in all appearance to proteſt againſt them, but covertly with the more important deſign of making ſuch conceſſions to Charles as would enable him to

conclude and ſign the treaty that had been so long agitated between them, and which was now done. The parliamentary commiſſioners returned to London at the time appointed with the anſwers to the two houſes from the king, "that neither his present sufferings, nor the apprehenſion of worſe treatment, ſhould ever induce him to give his aſſent to any bill as a part of the agreement before the whole was concluded;" but he sent immediately afterwards ſundry propoſitions of his own not much leſs advantageous to the Parliament than their own Acts, and deſired a perſonal treaty for the purpoſe of ſettling the peace of the kingdom. The Parliament denied them to be sufficient for the purpoſe, and on the 3rd of January, having ſat from morning until night on the queſtion, "*whether any addreſſes ſhould be made hereafter to his majeſty*," reſolved,

1*ſt*. That no more addreſſes be made from the Parliament to the king, nor any letters or meſſages received from him. 2*nd*. That it ſhall be treaſon for any perſon whatſoever to deliver any meſſage to the king, or to receive any letter or meſſage from him, without leave from both Houſes of Parliament. 3*rd*. That the members of both houſes of the committees of both king-

doms have power to ſit and act alone (as formerly the committees of both kingdoms had) for the ſafety of the kingdom. *4th.* That the Earl of Kent be added to this committee in the place of the Earl of Eſſex, deceaſed; and Sir John Evelyn and Mr. Fiennes in the place of Sir Philip Stapleton, deceaſed; and Mr. Glyn, recorder (now in the Tower). *5th.* That a committee be nominated to draw up a declaration to be publiſhed, to ſatisfy the kingdom of the reaſon of paſſing theſe votes. *Laſtly.* That the concurrence of the lords be desired to theſe votes;* votes extorted principally by the ſpeeches and menaces of the army-faction then preſent in the Houſe of Commons, *Sir Thomas Wroth* adviſing theſe three points:† *1ſt.* To ſecure the king in ſome inland caſtle with guards. *2nd.* To draw up articles of impeachment againſt him. *3rd.* To lay him by and ſettle the kingdom without him.

Ireton ſaying that his denying the four bills was refuſing protection to his ſubjects, and that therefore they might deny him ſubjection, alſo adding that till the Parliament forſook the

* Ruſhworth, vol. iv. pl. 2, p. 952.

† Parl. Hiſt., vol. xvi. p. 491.

army, the army would never forſake the Parliament.

And laſt of all *Cromwell* himſelf telling them it was now expected that the Parliament ſhould govern and defend the kingdom, and not any longer let the people expect their ſafety from a man whoſe heart God had hardened, nor let thoſe that had ſo well defended the Parliament be left hereafter to the rage of an irreconcileable enemy, leſt they ſhould ſeek their ſafety in ſome other way, laying his hand upon his ſword as he ſpake it.

Hereupon the vote of non-addreſſes was made an ordinance, which the houſe would afterwards have recalled, but was forced by Cromwell to keep their word,* who in the joy of his heart immediately returned to Lord Wharton's, and the ſame night penned the following letter to Hammond, announcing the ſucceſsful termination of the queſtion.

Superſcribed—"For Colonel Robert Hammond, Governor of the Iſle of Wight, theſe for the ſervice of the kingdom, haſte, poſt haſte.

* Hobbes' "Behemoth," in Maſeres' tracts, p. 596.

"DEAREST ROBIN,

"Now (bleſſed be God) I can write and thou receive freely, I never in my life ſaw more deep ſenſe and leſs will to ſhow it unchriſtianly than in that which thou didſt write to us when we were at Windſor, and thou in the midſt of thy temptation, which indeed (by what we underſtood of it) was a great one, and occaſioned thee greater by the letter the general ſent thee, of which thou waſt not miſtaken when thou didſt challenge me to be the penner.

"How good has God been to diſpoſe all to mercy! and although it was trouble for the preſent yet glory is come out of it, for which we praiſe the Lord with thee and for thee; and truly thy carriage has been ſuch as occaſions much honour to the name of God and to religion. Go on in the ſtrength of the Lord, and the Lord be ſtill with thee. But, dear *Robin*, this buſineſs hath been (I truſt) a mighty providence to this poor kingdom and to us all. The Houſe of Commons is very ſenſible of the king's dealings and of our brethren's in this late tranſaction. You ſhould do well, if you have anything that may diſcover juggling to ſearch it out, and let us know it. It may be of admir-

able uſe at this time, becauſe we ſhall (I hope) inſtantly go upon buſineſs in relation to them, tending to prevent danger. The Houſe of Commons has this day voted as follows: *1ſt.* They will make no more addreſſes to the king. *2ndly.* None ſhall apply to him without leave of the two houſes, upon pain of being guilty of high treaſon. *3rdly.* They will receive nothing from the king, nor ſhall any other bring anything to them from him, nor receive anything from the king. *Laſtly.* The members of both houſes who were of the committee of both kingdoms are eſtabliſhed in all that power in themſelves for England and Ireland which they had to act with both kingdoms; and Sir John Evelyn of Wilts* is added in the room of Mr. Recorder,† and Nath. Fiennes in the room of Sir

* Evelyn was afterwards appointed one of the Council of the State, with General Monk at the head of it, on the 23rd February, 1659–60.—Kennett's "Regiſter," p. 66.

† The Recorder was John Glynn, Eſq., educated at Hart Hall, Oxford. He had been one of the managers of the Houſe of Commons at the trial of the Earl of Strafford, and was himſelf one of the eleven members impeached of high treaſon by the army on the 16th June, 1647, and in January following deprived of his place of the Recorder of London, but in October, 1648, made Serjeant-at-law. In June, 1665, he was appointed by the Protector Cromwell, Lord Chief Juſtice of the Upper Bench, and afterwards one of the lords of the other houſe. He

Philip Stapleton,* and my Lord of Kent† in the room of the Earl of Eſsex. I think it good you take notice of this, the ſooner the better. Let us know how it is with you in point of ſtrength, and what you need from us. Some of us think the king well with you, and that it concerns us to keep the iſland in great ſecurity, becauſe of the *French,* &c., and if ſo, where can the king be better? If you have more force you will be ſure of full proviſion for them; the Lord bleſs thee: pray for

"Thy dear friend and ſervant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

"My Lord Wharton's, near ten at night,
January 3rd, 1647."

The diminutive Mercuries, and many with

was choſen knight of the ſhire for county of Carnarvon in the parliament which began at Weſtminſter, 25th April, 1660; and after the Reſtoration made, on the 8th November, 1660, the king's oldeſt ſerjeant-at-law, and on the 16th of that month had the honour of knighthood. He died at his houſe in Portugal Row, Lincoln's Inn Fields, November 15th, 1666.—Dr. Birch.

* Sir Philip Stapleton had diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the battle of Newbury, but was afterwards one of the eleven members impeached by the army in June, 1647, upon which he retired to Calais, where he ſoon after died.—Whitelock.

† Henry, Earl of Kent, who was appointed by the Parliament one of the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal on the 15th March, 1647, and died in April, 1649.

ſtrange deſignations to our ears there were, True Informers, and Daily Journals of the year 1647—48, ſeem to have been as equally alive to the importance of early intelligence as their more imposing ſucceſſors of the preſent day; no ſooner, therefore, was Charles located in the Iſle of Wight than the ſervices of a ſeries of correſpondents appear to have been inſtantly enliſted for the purpoſe of detailing the minuteſt occurrences connected with his detention there—moſt valuable records of matters which were then perchance conſidered of only paſſing intereſt, but in our generation of conſiderable moment, in rendering a perfect knowledge of the real ſtate and poſition of the unfortunate monarch in his latter days; for although the firſt reports were of ſomewhat a cheerful deſcription, each succeeding ſtatement became more and more tinctured with ſuch gloom as evidently foreboded the part it was the intention of the aſcendant party hereafter to perform. On the 9th December, I find it ſtated: "His majeſty is very ſtrictly looked to, his lodgings being locked up every night and the keys carried to the governor, and this is done becauſe they now know his majeſty's deſign was not for that place. On the 10th

January, "Here is a melancholy court, walking the round is the daily recreation, for other there is none. Horſe are ſuperfluous. His majeſty is cheerful, notwithſtanding his knowledge of the reſult at Weſtminſter. The vigilancy and induſtry of the governor, Colonel Hammond, is admirable; ſuch is his faithfulneſs and care, he deſerves much honour and reward;" and on the 12th, "The king is now kept from deſtructive counſels; the governor of the Iſle of Wight finds no miſcarriage in thoſe courtiers ſent by the Parliament. His majeſty is ſad, and ſpends much time in writing and at his books, and for refreſhment takes air about the caſtle (Colonel Hammond waiting upon him) but paſſeth not the works, and becauſe he may not have epiſcopal men to preach to him hears none at all; but the Houſe of Commons reſolving to uſe what means they can to convince his majeſty, (this day) appointed ſome of their members to conſider of ſome able divines to be ſpeedily ſent thither."

To ſuch an extent, however, had the publication of theſe pamphlets at this time reached, and in ſuch unmeaſured terms did the majority of them reflect upon the conduct of the Parlia-

ment in their treatment of the king, that a ſpecial committee was appointed by the houſe, on the 6th January, 1648,* to ſuppreſs all "unlicenſed and ſcandalous pamphlets," with power to meet daily and reward thoſe who made known either the authors or publiſhers thereof to the authorities; but, notwithſtanding ſuch ordinance, they apparently daily increaſed both in number and freedom of expreſſion. No. 13 of the *Mercurius Melancholicus*, or news from Weſtminſter and other parts, of the 29th November, 1647, (anonymous) writes: "I pray you who was it that ordered his majeſty to have not ſo much as a man to wait upon him, leſt his three ſervants, Mr. Aſhburnham, Major Legg, and Sir John Berkeley, without ſword or ſpear, ſhould conquer the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland? Who was it that refuſed a perſonal treaty with his majeſty for fear the people ſhould take a ſurfeit in the enjoyment of too ſudden a peace? Who was it that ſent the malapert and ſaucy agents or agitators to the ſeveral gaols of Newgate and the Gate-houſe, for demanding things deſtructive to the being of parliaments and the fundamental government of

* Ruſhworth, vol. iv. pt. 2, p. 957.

this kingdom? and all this within the compaſs of one week, beſides what they have done for the ſpace of ſeven years before; was it not the Parliament? I hope the kingdom will take theſe worthy acts into conſideration, and for the future ſpeak better of them than ever they did deſerve."

"Colonel Hammond, ſtand to your tacklings, for I know not how you can come off with credit; there is ſuch antipathy between the king and the Parliament that all the eyes and ſpectacles that I have cannot ſee how you can well ſerve two maſters: you have hitherto gained the reputation of a good ſubject and an honeſt man; it requires policy to continue ſo, though there I muſt confeſs my faith ſtaggers. I do not like that clauſe in your letter, dated November 19, 1647: '*That whatever is commanded by authority, eſpecially that of Parliament, though never ſo contrary to your ſenſe of honour, you will never diſobey!*' How now, Mr. Hammond! Should the Parliament authority command you to do that in the *Iſle of Wight* which ſhould have been done at *Hampton Court* (you know my meaning), would you do it? Truly by this you

have dulled the good opinions which many thouſands beſides myſelf had of you."

Whilſt in a curious ſtage-play iſſued about the ſame time, entitled "Crafty Cromwell; or Oliver ordering our new ſtate; a Tragical Comedy, wherein is diſcovered the traiterous undertakings and proceedings of this ſaid Nol and his levelling crew," (an anonymous pamphlet), occurs the following ſcene:

"ACTUS QUARTUS.

"Enter Colonel Hammond, his majeſty's jailor, with a bunch of keys at his girdle; a ſervant.

"*Hammond.*—Is the guard placed about the privy chamber, and are the caſtle gates barred ſure?

"*Servant.*—They are, ſir.

"*Hammond.*—On what a tickliſh point I ſtand; and like a man walkes a ridged battlement, if he digreſſe to the right hand or the left, hazards the bruiſing of his fleſhly tenement, and forfeiture of his ſoul; ſo I, betwixt the fealtie I owe unto my rightful king and the commands of an all-powerful *ſtate*, am doubly plunged: the one

deſires me ſhew a *ſubject's duty*, the other doth command a *traitor's hate;* if I obey the one, then I accrue my ſovereign's diſpleaſure; if I ſatisfie the other, then be I liable to *impriſonment*, or if they pleaſe, to *death*. O *Fear*, how potent art thou! the man poſſeſt with thee cares not to ſell his *country* and his *king*, to act the worſt of crimes that hell ere hatched, ſo he ſecure himſelf.

"I am reſolv'd, though LOYALTY diſſent,
To act even as 't ſhall pleaſe the Parliament."

[*Exit.*

And in the "Cavalier's Litany, lately compoſed by a well-wiſher to his majeſty's person and all his moſt loyal ſubjects; very fitting to be obſerved and made uſe of by all thoſe who deſire deliverance from the damnable, execrable, unparalleled, and not before heard of deteſtable actions, proceedings, deſigns, humours, conditions, votes, and ordinances, now fully and moſt exactly practiſed, delivered, and divulged, by the only (yet illegal) governors of theſe our ſad, deſperate, diſtracted times" (anonymous).

"From being like the army hated,
From the throne* in which *Charles* they've re-inſtated,
From by the committee to be ſequeſtrated,
Libranos.

"From the treacherous votes of the Houſe of Commons,
From the Parliament's accurſed ſummons,
From every one's ire, eſpecially a woman's,
Libranos."

By the aid of the preſs alſo the king himſelf, ſoon after the paſſing of the vote of non-addreſſes, perſonally endeavoured to appeal to the good ſenſe of the people—putting it to them to judge between him and his opponents, whether by his anſwer to the four bills he had given any reaſonable cauſe for their violent and unconſtitutional vote, and whether they by the obſtinate refuſal of a conference did not betray their reſolve not to come to any perſonal accommodation;† and in conſequence of the great impreſſion thus made in the public mind, a long and laborious anſwer, in which they endeavoured to vindicate their proceedings, was prepared by the Houſe of Commons, copies of which were allotted to the members to circulate among their conſtituents

* The Priſon.

† The King's Works, and Parl. Hiſty.

as well as ſent to the curates to be read by them to their pariſhioners; but having inſerted much queſtionable matter, and made numerous ſtatements eaſily open to refutation, the advantage was eagerly ſeized by the royaliſts, ſeveral anſwers moſt convincingly written being likewiſe circulated in many parts of the kingdom, and with the aid rendered by the leſs eloquent, but ſtill with many claſſes equally perſuaſive, publications from which I have quoted, the king's cauſe made an unexpectedly rapid progreſs among the people, although it muſt alſo be acknowledged that in the army itſelf the principles of the levellers were certainly getting an aſcendancy, making a great parade of a fact they had recently diſcovered in the Bible, 1ſt Kings, viii. 8, that the government of kings was odious in the ſight of God, and contending therefore, after ſo direct an aſſertion, that Charles had no right to the ſceptre.

Such was the feveriſh ſtate of the public mind in England during the king's early reſidence at Cariſbrook, which I have briefly narrated, to the intent that my readers may be enabled fully to comprehend the bearings ſuch proceedings would

be likely to have on his preſent and ſubſequent conduct there.

For ſome little time, as related by Sir Thos. Herbert and Sir J. Oglander, after his majeſty's arrival in the Iſle of Wight, there was no prohibition as to acceſs by any one deſirous of ſeeing him, and thither, as ſoon as his place of reſidence was rumoured, repaired ſeveral of his old ſervants, and ſuch men as his majeſty thought fit to nominate; whilſt, in about ten days, at the inſtigation of Hammond, Sir Thos. Berkeley,* with a paſs from the captain of Cowes Caſtle, accompanied by his couſin, Mr. Henry Berkeley, left the iſland, charged with two communications from the king to the general (Fairfax), the one expreſſing his deſire for a perſonal treaty, and the other acquainting him that three of his chaplains, Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Holdſworth, and Dr. Heywood, had come to the iſland, for whom he aſked protection.†

Berkeley was likewiſe intruſted with letters both from his majeſty and Hammond to Cromwell and Ireton; but by whom, to uſe his own

* Berkeley's "Memoirs."

† Ruſhworth.

words, "he was ſaluted very coldly, having their countenances quite changed towards him;" and thereupon ſeeing it was no place for him, on coming to his lodging he deſpatched his couſin to Cariſbrook with two letters, the one containing a general relation and doubtful judgment of things in the army, which he intended to be ſhown to the governor; and the other in cipher, wherein he gave a particular account of the interview above narrated, concluding with a moſt energetic ſupplication to the king to meditate nothing but his immediate eſcape, which he preſumed he could eaſily do in a few days, the wind ſerving; as the queen had ſent a ſhip for that purpoſe, and preſſed it earneſtly by her letters. The next morning he ſent Colonel Cooke to Cromwell, to inform him he had letters to him and inſtructions from his majeſty, from whom in return he received word that he could not give him an interview, "but he was willing to ſerve his majeſty as long as he could do it without his own ruin," deſiring, at the ſame time, that Berkeley ſhould not expect he would peril his life for the king's ſake. On hearing this Berkeley took horſe for London, where he had ſeveral conferences on his majeſty's behalf

with the Scottiſh commiſſioners, and on the following Saturday he received a letter from Mr. Aſhburnham, requiring, in the king's name, his immediate preſence, which as he believed it intended for a ſummons to aſſiſt in the projected eſcape, remarking, "that though Mr. Aſhburnham were willing enough to appropriate employments of honour and profit, yet he was contented to communicate thoſe of danger to his friends," was the next morning again with Charles at Cariſbrook, by whom he was thanked for his despatch from Windſor. Sir John Berkeley, however, asked the king in return, "if his majeſty ſo highly approved his advice, why he did not follow it?" and "why he was ſtill in the iſland, where he could not long promiſe himſelf the liberty he then had?" Queſtions to which his majeſty replied, "he would have a care of that time enough, and that he wiſhed to conclude with the Scots before he left the kingdom."

Several conſultations are likewiſe deſcribed as having been held before the arrival of the Parliamentarian and Scottiſh commiſſioners, and as many injunctions given to the king to attempt the eſcape whilſt yet there was the opportunity of doing ſo; but all endeavours were in vain

until the day of the delivery of his refuſal to accede to the four bills of the commiſſioners, a ſcene of intenſe excitement, as when the time came for the king to render his anſwer, he ſent for the Engliſh commiſſioners, and on their entering his apartment, aſked Lord Denbigh, the chief commiſſioner, whether they had received the power to alter any ſubſtantial part of the meſſage with which they were entruſted, who anſwered they had not, whereupon his majeſty handed his reply ſealed, and they withdrew; but on returning after a ſhort lapſe of time, Lord Denbigh told the king, that though they had no authority to treat or do anything but receive his anſwer, yet they were not to be looked on as common meſſengers to carry back an anſwer they had not ſeen; and that unleſs they might ſee what was entruſted to them, they would not receive the anſwer, but depart without any. Charles fearing the conſequences that would reſult if the commiſſioners returned without any reply, after a long controverſy was perſuaded to remove the ſeal, but ſo far from this procedure on the part of the king ſufficing to allay the ſtorm, it materially aſſiſted to augment it, the governor enliſting himſelf on the ſide of the

commiſſioners, who by the opening of the deſpatch, became aware that the king had waved the intereſts of both the Parliament and the army to cloſe with the Scots; and then, on the termination of the audience, apparently reflecting on the conſequences to be apprehended from ſuch refuſal, he reſolved to anticipate the vengeance of Parliament by flying the ſame evening, or early the next morning, to the ſhip ſent by the queen, which ſtill remained in the Southampton Water.

It, however, now unfortunately happened that not only did the wind, which had hitherto remained favourable for his purpoſe, ſuddenly change to an oppoſite quarter, but that Hammond, on the departure of the commiſſioners, accompanied them to Newport, where he in all probability became aware of the inconſiderate orders and counter-orders which had juſt emanated from Aſhburnham in relation to the movement of ſome horſes on the oppoſite coaſt, as on his return, he ordered the gates of the caſtle to be inſtantly cloſed, and the king to be confined to his chamber, the next afternoon diſmiſſing his chaplains, not excepting even his own kinſman, Dr. Hammond, with ſome other attendants,

including Aſhburnham, Berkeley, and Legg, who on taking leave of his majeſty, managed, to inform him "that they would leave the captain of the veſſel, and two honeſt and truſty gentlemen of the iſle to aſſiſt him, whilſt they ſhould prepare everything on the oppoſite ſide of the water."

Sir Thos. Herbert, in his Memoirs, erroneouſly records this occurrence as taking place on the 8th of February, inſtead of at the time here ſet down. In his deſcription of it, he ſtates that Hammond ſoon after the king's dinner came into the preſence chamber, and with a ſhort preamble, addreſſed himſelf to his majeſty, by ſaying he was very ſorry to acquaint him that the orders he had the night before received from his ſuperiors, were to forbid Mr. Aſhburnham, Mr. Legg, and the reſt of his ſervants who were with him at Oxford, any longer to remain in attendance on him, and that the jealouſies and apprehenſions of the time rendered it incumbent on him to diſcharge them from the caſtle.

On hearing this, the king was not only ſurpriſed, but his countenance evinced a conſiderable degree of trouble; and after a ſhort interval, beckoning Mr. Aſhburnham and ſome others

with his hand to approach him, he told them what the governor had communicated to him, and ſaid that it was an announcement that he certainly did not expect.

Remonſtrance on the part of theſe gentlemen was, of courſe, uſeleſs; therefore, the next day after the king roſe from his dinner, they all came together, and proſtrating themſelves at his majeſty's feet, prayed God for his preſervation, then kiſſing his hand departed, their affliction being only alleviated by the knowledge that they could not be excluded from their royal maſter's affection.

After this parting, the king, feeling the bitter pang and fearful apprehenſion in his heart, ſent for Colonel Hammond, between whom the following converſation is recorded to have occurred,* "a dramatic piece, full of natural touches, and perfectly characteriſtic of Charles the Firſt."

King Charles.—Why do you uſe me thus? Where are your orders for it? Was it the ſpirit that moved you to it?

Hammond, who had no orders from the Parliament, but likely ſome advice from the com-

* See Clarendon's "State Papers," Appendix, vol. ii.

miſſioners, ſaid nothing at firſt, but afterwards laid it upon his majeſty's anſwer.

King Charles.—Did you not engage your honour you would take no advantage from thence againſt me?

Hammond.—I ſaid nothing.

King Charles.—You are an equivocating gentleman; will you allow me any chaplains? You pretend for liberty of conſcience—ſhall I have none?

Hammond.—I cannot allow you any chaplain.

King Charles.—You uſe me neither like a gentleman nor a Chriſtian.

Hammond.—I'll ſpeak to you when you are in better temper.

King Charles.—I have ſlept well to-night.

Hammond.—I have uſed you very civilly.

King Charles.—Why do you not ſo now, then?

Hammond.—Sir, you are too high.

King Charles.—My ſhoe-maker's fault,* then; my ſhoes are of the ſame laſt, &c. (*twice or thrice to this purpoſe.*)

* Sir John Oglander relates this expreſſion of the king's, but as having occurred on another occaſion.

King Charles. — Shall I have liberty to go about to take the air?

Hammond.—No; I cannot grant it.

His majeſty then charged him with his allegiance, and told him he muſt anſwer this.

A converſation of dark and ſtern ſignificance, as from this time moſt of the courtly faſhions were laid aſide, the whole of the iſland beyond the caſtle prohibited to the king's footſteps, and previous privileges of communication annulled, all thoſe arguments which faction can bring forth to colour treaſon being urged in juſtification of ſuch unprecedented meaſures; whilſt Charles, thus made fully ſenſible by the breaking up of old aſſociations, that mere words were but a frail ſecurity for protection, immediately commenced directing his own energies, and enliſting the ſympathies of others, towards his enlargement, now well knowing that if he inertly remained, he remained only to deſtruction.

CHAPTER III.

Mutiny at Newport—Apprehenſion, Trial, and Execution of Captain Burley—Arrangements of the Royal Houſehold, and Habits of the King.

THESE were buſy days in the Iſle of Wight, ſo manifold the rumours, ſo frequent the changes, and ſo rapid the events; and notwithſtanding the belief of Hammond that his orders would be vigorouſly ſupported, if requiſite, by the majority of the iſlanders, the faith of the ſuperior authorities in the integrity of thoſe who there profeſſed attachment to the Parliament, appears to have been more than doubtful, as an intimation was ſent him by Ireton not to confide wholly in the affections of the iſlanders; and in order that a ſufficient force might be at his command, detachments were ſent over from Southampton, and immediately afterwards from

the head-quarters of Sir Thomas Fairfax, including Hammond's and Captain Rolph's own companies of foot, as well as Sir William Conſtable, Lieutenant-Colonel Salmon, and Lieutenant-Colonel Goffe, to aſſiſt the governor, whilſt proviſions were ordered to be laid in at Cariſbrook, and all the forts in the iſland; and as an additional meaſure of precaution, a fleet under the command of Vice-Admiral Rainſborough, after ſome little controverſy between the Lords and Commons, was ſent to watch the entire coaſt of the iſland, a ſtate of things very different to the circumſtances in this locality at the king's firſt arrival.

I have already ſtated, that on the morning after the departure of the Parliamentary commiſſioners, amongſt others of the king's attendants, Aſhburnham, Berkeley, and Legg were diſmiſſed the caſtle, whence they, during ſome portion of the ſame day, proceeded to Newport, Aſhburnham remaining at an inn, whilſt Berkeley and Legg viſited an acquaintance of theirs in ſome other part of the town. After about an hour's ſtay, they heard a drum beat confuſedly, and becoming aware that one Captain Burley, and divers others, had riſen to

reſcue the king, at once returned to the inn, finding Mr. Aſhburnham making ſpeeches to the people, adviſing them to deſiſt from their vain enterpriſe; but on the remonſtrance of Sir John Berkeley, who deemed it exceedingly dangerous in their poſition to be found in communication with the populace, not knowing what interpretation might be put upon language ſo addreſſed, however amicably intended, he gave over—advice, it was ſoon ſhown, to have been moſt opportune, as many of the perſons ſeized are repreſented to have had promiſes of pardon and liberty made them on their implicating theſe three gentlemen in the tranſaction; but as ſuch a procedure was totally impoſſible, an order was tranſmitted by Hammond to the captain of Cowes Caſtle to put them immediately on ſhip-board, and tranſport them to the coaſt of Hampſhire, where, it appears they remained ſome weeks, in daily expectation of the accompliſhment of his majeſty's deſired eſcape, and conſequent arrival there.

Although Aſhburnham preſerved his reputation and his credit among the moſt eminent of the loyaliſts, much opprobrium has been showered on him for his ſhare of the action in conducting

the king to the Iſle of Wight, it being more than inſinuated that his honour in the tranſaction was not ſo pure as he would have it conſidered, and that if not actually corrupted, he had been outwitted by Cromwell and Ireton. It would, of courſe, be an impoſſibility now to unravel the motives which then innately guided him, and his own narrative, in connection with the more candid ſtatement of Sir John Berkeley, ſhows him to be open to reproach, and liable to juſt cenſure, for the fatally perſuaſive influence he exerciſed, perchance with integrity, but certainly with indiſcretion, over his majeſty, on many occaſions, when it is not improbable that contrary reaſoning would have been better fitted to the poſition in which he was placed.

Captain Burley, the inſtigator of this mutiny, (as it was deſignated in the letter deſpatched by Hammond to announce the incident to the Houſe of Commons,) was of a good family in the iſland, his father having held the command of Yarmouth Caſtle there, and Captain Burley himſelf a captaincy in the Royal Navy, from which he was diſcharged on the occaſion of the fleet rebelling againſt the king, when he joined the army, and continued an officer of good account,

until finding the king's affairs irremediably ruined, he retired to the Iſle of Wight, where many of his kinsfolk were reſident, and chancing to be at Newport on the day the diſmiſſal of the king's attendants had created a conſiderable commotion, the people ſeemingly feeling the indignity with ſo great a degree of aſperity, as to induce him to believe their reſentment had deeper root than the mere effervescence of otherwiſe inconſiderate language, cauſed a drum to be beaten, and urged the inhabitants with the rallying cry of "for God, King Charles, and the people!" to ſeize upon Cariſbrook Caſtle and reſcue the king, an attempt, as the reſult proved, to be ſhort-ſighted and utterly impracticable, he being joined but by few of the towns-people,* except women and children, the entire muſter having only one muſket among them. On the ſummons of the mayor, the military were ſent from Cariſbrook, the moſt prominent parties arreſted, and Burley himſelf committed to a dungeon in the caſtle he had propoſed to attack,

* Perhaps, remembering the prominent part they had taken in originally ſecuring the caſtle for the Parliament in 1643—44.

for ſafe keeping, until the pleaſure of the Parliament could be aſcertained reſpecting him.

On the receipt of Hammond's communication by the Houſe of Commons, an order was made "that the general, Sir Thomas Fairfax, be required to grant a commiſſion to the governor of the Iſle of Wight, to try by martial law the chief actors in this mutiny, or that ſhall make any further diſturbance; and ſuch as are not triable by martial law, are to be tried by a commiſſion of oyer and terminer, to be forthwith ſent down for that purpoſe," a letter of thanks being the ſame day voted to the mayor of Newport, in the Iſle of Wight, and to the well-affected perſons there for their care and good affections expreſſed in the late mutiny in the town by Captain Burley and others. Thus was this ill-judged and unfortunate, but well-meant tumult eaſily allayed—the inhabitants of Newport, although moſt liberal in pitying and indignant expreſſions, evidently conſidered the ſtep taken by Burley to be too dangerous an enterprize for them ſingle-handed to embark in, oppoſed as they would be by men who were then doing a foul wrong, capable

of anything, and reſtrained by no perſonal conſiderations; whilſt he, himſelf, after raiſing the cry, and having no time to revolve the actual poſſibility of the achievement in his mind, was, probably like many others who do daring actions, forced on becauſe he had not the opportunity given him to think of retreating.

The trial of Captain Burley, which took place at Wincheſter, is, with the exception of the king's, which ſo ſoon followed, one of the moſt peculiar in Engliſh hiſtory, although a perfect record of it has hitherto remained unpubliſhed; for there was a judge, without any legal commiſſion, acting againſt the law—a king's attorney, without the royal deſignation, acting in the king's name, againſt the king, in purſuing a loyal ſubject to death, for undertaking what he believed to be the faithful defence of his majeſty—and charging him with treaſon, becauſe he oppoſed thoſe who were committing it.

Sergeant Wild, a man of infamous character, who was made chief baron of the Exchequer for ſuch ſervices, preſided; and every other counſellor refuſing to act, Steele, who was immediately after the trial made recorder of London,

conducted the profecution; the indictment charging Burley with high treaſon, for levying war againſt the king, and endeavouring to engage the kingdom in a new war.

Some little difficulty was at firſt experienced in procuring a jury; but by enforcing the attendance of many of the county ſequeſtrators and others in the pay of the Parliament, the taſk was ultimately accompliſhed, the roll of their names being thus commented on in No. 4 of the *Mercurius Dogmaticus:*

"EDWARD HEIGHES—ſuch another knave (I warrant you) as Heighes, the bookſeller, at Fleet-bridge. ROBERT COOPER—let every tub ſtand upon its own bottom. JOHN KNIGHT—noble only by name. WILLIAM DOLEING—let him know ſorrow. THOMAS COLES—Oh! what a price might he have been ſold for for a Chriſtmas block, when coals were kept from London. PETER PERCIVAL—what kin to Percival, once miniſter of Baſingſtoke? WILLIAM FISHER—no swearer, I'll warrant, tho' he aſſiſted to give up a lying verdict with the reſt. ARTHUR LIPSCOMB—of Bradley, coxcomb. WILLIAM HILOKER—there's a ſtoole. JOHN ELLIOT—not allied to Tom Elliot, I'll warrant him.

WILLIAM HUNT—Acteon's kinſman. JOHN BIDLECOMB—two coxcombs in one jury. ANTHONY CASBERT—a ſharp man, ſure. THEOPHILUS SMITH—Mulciber be thy protector."

A curious and ſignificant compilation; but one, of courſe, only applicable to the feelings and comprehenſion of the public at the time of its publication.

On the 22nd of January, 1648, the grand jury, so named, aſſembled at the place of trial, and after hearing a moſt violent and accuſatory ſermon againſt the priſoner, delivered by one Ellis, an Antinomian, the following charge was read by Steele: "That the ſaid Captain Burley was the chief cauſe, or incendiary, for cauſing a drum to be beat up for God and King Charles, at Newport, in the Iſle of Wight, and cauſing a mutiny there, contrary to divers ordinances of Parliament made in that behalf;" which he undertook to ſhow the jury was treaſon, under the ſtatute of 25th Edward the Third, and other ſtatutes; but on their retiring, the queſtion was agitated, even among men ſo ſelected, as to the legal evidence on which they were urged to find a bill of treaſon againſt the captain, and they returned into court, requiring further in-

formation on the ſubject, becauſe the ſtatutes which Mr. Steele had quoted were found to be repealed, and conſequently of no effect; whilſt the 25th of Edward the Third did not appear to them to touch the matter in queſtion, ſince the only high treaſons there ſet down, were—

1ſt. The compaſſing or imagining the king's death or the queen's, or their eldeſt ſon and heir.

2nd. The violating of the king's companion, or the king's eldeſt daughter unmarried, or the wife of the eldeſt ſon and heir.

3rd. The levying of war againſt our ſovereign lord the king in his realm, or to be adherent to the king's enemies in his realm, giving to them aid or comfort in the realm or elſewhere.

4th. The counterfeiting the king's great ſeal, or his privy ſeal, or his money.

5th. The bringing of falſe money into the realm.

6th. The ſlaying the chancellor, treaſurer, or the king's juſtices, being in their places doing their offices.

If any of the treaſons therein mentioned were applicable, it could be only the firſt or third, and they did not underſtand that Captain Burley had any thought of compaſſing or imagining the death of the king, the queen, or their eldeſt

ſon and heir, or of levying war againſt the king, or of adhering to his enemies.

Steele replied, that the ſtatutes to which his attention had been called by the jury, were indeed repealed, *but that he had forgotten to tell them ſo*, for which he requeſted their pardon, and that the 25th Edward the Third was the ſtatute on which he relied, aſking them *whether they did not believe that the king was virtually in the Parliament*, a courſe of argument which ſeems to have removed all ſcruples, as a true bill was thereupon found. Burley pleaded "Not Guilty," aſſerted his right to challenge the jury who were to try him, and addreſs himſelf to the court, both of which requeſts were denied by the judge, who ſaid in anſwer to the latter demand, "Captain Burley, you ſhall be ſure to have a fair trial, and be heard to ſpeak at full; but now the king's evidence is to be heard, and therefore you muſt forbear."

The witneſſes produced againſt him were a boy, a woman, and a man.

The Boy.—Said he was 14 years of age, and that Captain Burley wiſhed him to go for the (town) drum, which he accordingly did, and that it was afterwards taken from him.

The Woman.—Said ſhe heard Captain Burley ſay he would be the firſt that ſhould enter.

The Man.—That the mayor of Newport came to the drummer to demand the drum, who gave him ill language, and that therefore Captain Burley reproved him for ſo doing, aſking him whether he knew who it was he was ſpeaking to, and telling him it was the mayor of the town who demanded the drum, which was accordingly then delivered to him.

This was the evidence for the proſecution; and on the jury's retiring, Burley deſired the performance of the promiſe the judge had made him of a fair hearing for himſelf, but to little purpoſe; he being told that all he could ſay would be only for the information of the jury, who were gone, and it was therefore too late for him now to ſpeak. As might have been expected, after ſuch an almoſt incredible mockery of juſtice, the verdict of guilty was returned, and a ſentence paſſed in every way worthy of the man who delivered it—"That his body was to be drawn upon an hurdle to the gallows and there hanged, and afterwards cut down and quartered, and the quarters hung upon ſtakes and pikes. *Non pœna, ſed cauſa, facit martyram*—it is not

the puniſhment, but the cauſe, which makes a martyr."

The other perſons taken with Burley being only indicted for a riot, were puniſhed by fine and impriſonment.

On the 23rd of January, the day before that appointed for his execution, the reſult of the trial was reported to the Houſe of Commons, but upon ſome conſideration the ſentence was for the preſent reprieved; and it having pleaſed the grand jury, ere they ſeparated, to addreſs the Parliament on the then exiſting ſtate of things, there was the ſame day a paper read in the houſe, purporting to be the "Humble and thankful acknowledgment and declaration of the County of Southampton, preſented by the grand jury of the ſaid county, at the ſitting of a commiſſion of oyer and terminer, to be preſented by the knights and burgeſſes that ſerve for the county.

"To the Right Honourable the Houſe of Commons aſſembled in Parliament.

"As we deteſt with horror the levying of a new war, ſo we deſire with our hearts the firm ſettlement of a laſting peace. After ſo many

applications to the king made by the Parliament, and eſpecially after the laſt addreſs, wherein the houſes (as we humbly conceive) demand nothing but what is moſt eſſential to the ſafety of the people; and after the king's abſolute negative to the laſt meſſage of the honourable houſes, we exceedingly doubt of any ſettlement by future application to the king; and therefore we do moſt humbly acknowledge the wiſdom and goodneſs of the Parliament in reſolving to ſettle the peace of this poor, miſerable, diſtracted nation; and by the bleſſing of God (as in duty we are bound) we ſhall not only moſt willingly and cheerfully ſubmit and acquieſce in ſuch ſettlement as they, in their grave judgment, ſhall find to be moſt conducible to our peace; but alſo, in our ſeveral placings and callings, ſhall heartily endeavour to promote the ſame.

"Signed by the jury as before rendered."

For this addreſs the thanks of the houſe were ordered, and Sir H. Mildmay received a similar vote for the ſervices he had rendered at the time of the trial.

After Burley's condemnation, a vain endeavour was made to obtain a commutation of his ſen-

tence into a baniſhment for life; and his wife petitioned the judge that his eſtate ſhould not be ſubjected to forfeiture, but divided between her and her children, and also that the body of her huſband might be delivered over to her for burial. Wild replied, that as her huſband was a traitor, the eſtate was not in his power, but in that of the Parliament; and if he granted her other requeſt, "he thought he ſhould be doing her a diſcourteſy in it—for if his body was ſuffered to hang—the cavaliers that came by would ſay, 'There hangs honeſt Captain Burley, that was true to his king.'"*

The reprieve was, however, but of ſhort duration, as the execution is recorded to have taken place on the 3rd February; and becauſe no one in Hampſhire could be prevailed on to undertake the executioner's functions, Gregory, the London official, was taken to Wincheſter to perform his hateful duty. Burley took leave of his wife and children at the door of the priſon; and on entering the cart, requeſted to be driven ſpeedily to his journey's end, in order that he might obtain endleſs peace and reſt.

* Relation of the proceedings againſt Captain Burley at Wincheſter, 1648.

On coming to the place of execution, where were already the faggots to conſume his bowels and the cleaver to divide his body, Burley requeſted the 12th chapter of Iſaiah to be read to him, together with the 8th chapter of the Romans, and the 69th Pſalm; and having taken leave of the world, and repeated a prayer he had written for the occaſion, which he preſented to the ſheriff, and which was afterwards publiſhed, aſcended the gallows, where he was again moved by a miniſter to be humbled, that the Lord might have mercy upon him, and to confeſs his ſins to God, particularly the treaſon for which he was to die. Burley ſaid he was a ſinner, but no traitor; and on being told what a fair trial he had, and how legally he was condemned, anſwered, it was true the judge condemned him upon the bench, the miniſters in their pulpits, and the gentlemen of the county in their verdicts, but ſtill he was no traitor; whereupon he was urged how bloody an act he had agitated in ſeeking to take away the king through blood; to which he replied, he was happy to die ſo, and hoped his blood might be the laſt that ſhould be ſo ſhed; when he again prayed fervently, and, concluding with the Lord's Prayer,

proclaimed, with undaunted courage, *Fear God and honour the King.* The hangman thereupon pulled the cap over his face, and the unfortunate man, as he was turned off, called out, "Lord, preſerve my ſoul—Lord Jeſus, receive my ſoul!"

Such are the particulars of this remarkable trial, the firſt precedent of a man being brought to a formal arraignment, found guilty of high treaſon, and deprived of life for adhering to the king; a procedure which, as Clarendon juſtly remarks, made a deeper impreſſion upon the hearts of all men than the cruelties which had been already exerciſed in the courts of war; for, though they took the lives of many innocent men, their eſtates were allowed to deſcend to their families; but when it was seen that the condemnation of high treaſon before a judge of the land might accrue for ſerving the king, and their eſtates be thereby confiſcated, many began to think they would be juſtified in keeping their hearts entire, without involving themſelves by their actions in a capital tranſgreſſion.

Scarcely a day now paſſed that was not marked by ſome new occurrence indicative of the reſtraint Charles would ultimately have to endure, al-

though, as the new deſigns of his opponents were gradually developed, he derived the ſatisfaction of finding many who had formerly aided the contrivers of thoſe machinations which had reſulted in the unforeſeen thraldom of their king, ſolicitous to wipe off the inadvertencies into which they had been so led, by a proportionate zeal in any notable ſervice that could now be rendered him. It being a ſingular but truthful aſſertion, that the moſt energetic and faithful of his adherents, and thoſe who preſerved their reputations moſt unſpotted in the tranſactions connected with his attempted eſcapes from Cariſbrook, were the men who thus voluntarily proffered their allegiance from the ranks of the Parliament for that eſpecial purpoſe.

Charles was, in fact, now a cloſe priſoner; although ſuch was the vigilance and ingenuity of his confidants that an active correſpondence was immediately commenced and ſecretly carried on between the royal captive and his friends in London, Scotland, and France, in defiance of the endeavours of a committee ſitting daily at Derby Houſe, compoſed of ſeven peers, viz., the Earls of Mancheſter, Northumberland, Kent, and Warwick, and the Lords Say and Seale, Wharton

and Roberts, together with thirteen members of the Houſe of Commons, Mr. Pierrepont, Mr. Fiennes, Sir Harry Vane, Harry Vane, junior, Sir William Armine, Sir Arthur Haſelrig, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Sir John Evelyn, Lieut.-General Cromwell, Mr. St. John, Mr. Wallop, Mr. Crew, and Mr. Brown, who held power to repreſs tumults and inſurrections, to raiſe forces as they ſaw occaſion, and to whom thoſe having the cuſtody of the king were for the future to be reſponſible. The power to place and diſplace any attendant, or to uſe any meaſures in relation to the ſafety and ſecurity of his majeſty's perſon, had been already deputed to Colonel Hammond and Sir William Conſtable by vote of the Houſe of Commons, on the 5th January, 1648; but on Sir William Conſtable's receiving another appointment, a few days afterwards, at the ſuppoſed inſtigation of Cromwell, the ſole reſponſibility devolved on Hammond, by whom an intimation from the above-named committee was received on the 21ſt of the ſame month, informing him that as they were under an oath of ſecrecy,* he might ſafely communicate any intelligence to them, and that for its

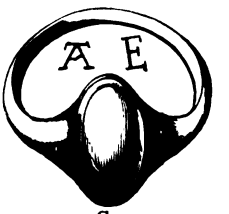
* Letter to Hammond.

better concealment a cipher ſhould be tranſmitted to him; whilſt ſo ſubtle were their precautions, and well-deviſed their eſpionage, that there was ſcarcely a movement of the king, or of thoſe in correſpondence with him, but was henceforward known to them; the firſt information of many of the intrigues neceſſarily entered into for the purpoſe of accompliſhing the eſcape of Charles, being actually communicated to Hammond from Derby Houſe, although contrived in his own reſidence, and almoſt in his immediate preſence.

The death of Captain Burley, which had at firſt materially affected the king, was, in the preſſure of other matters, in the preſent poſition of his affairs, quickly forgotten; the principal private griefs now affecting him being the loſs of his chaplains (his majeſty's wiſh for the return of whom, or at leaſt Dr. Hammond and Dr. Sheldon, had been repreſented to the Parliament); as he was firm in his purpoſe of abſtaining from hearing thoſe who miniſtered according to the directory then practiſed; and the reſtriction of his uſual out-of-door exerciſe. This determination, however, did not prevent his private devotions, which he daily and care-

A

B



C

A. B. Cane Head, and top of Cane Head, used by Charles the First at Carisbrook; now in the possession of Thomas Cooke, Esq., of Newport.

C. Ring worn by King Charles at Carisbrook; now in the possession of George Wallace, Esq., of Southsea.

The Hall in which the Treaty of Newport was held in 1648.

fully attended to, especially obſerving the Lord's-day by reading the Bible and other books fitting him for prayer and meditation in his cloſet. The ceſſation of his accuſtomed exerciſe, which was always more violent than moderate, as when he walked on foot he rather trotted than paced, he went ſo faſt, and invariably uſed a cane or ſtaff, as was the cuſtom of the time,* involved him, however, in frequent bickerings with the governor; and

* An anceſtor, of the name of Howe, of Mr. Thomas Cooke, now reſident at Newport, in the Iſle of Wight, was at this time maſter gunner at the caſtle of Cariſbrook, and as a mark of the king's ſenſe of the attention paid him by that officer, he on one occaſion preſented him with the ſtaff he was ſo uſing. The ivory head of this relic is ſtill in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Cooke; it is inlaid with ſilver, and unſcrews, the top forming a ſcent-box. Mr. Howe had also a ſon, a little boy who was a great favourite of Charles: one day, ſeeing him with a child's sword by his ſide, the king aſked him what he intended doing with it? "To defend your majeſty from your majeſty's enemies," was the reply; an anſwer which ſo pleaſed the king, that he gave the child the ſignet ring he was in the habit of wearing upon his finger. The ring has deſcended to a Mr. Wallace, a kinſman of Mr. Cooke.

It is alſo recorded that Mr. Worſley, of Gatcombe, received his majeſty's watch (ſtill preſerved in the family) as a gift, the morning he was leaving the iſland; but this ſuppoſition muſt be erroneous, as Mr. Worsſley was at that time not only proſcribed from the precincts, but the removal of the king ſo ſecret that none were aware of the procedure. The probability therefore is that Mr. Worſley ſaw him in his route from Hurſt Caſtle to London, and then received this intereſting memorial.

on the 4th of February, he pointedly told him, that that was the laſt "argumentation" he would hold with him about it, and he might yet ere long be beholden to one of his ſons for his life. But little were his appeals heeded, and no ſhadow of hope appeared by which he could diſcern the probability of any relief, as not only were one thouſand pounds granted for repairing the caſtle, but on the following day, the 5th of February, Hammond was expressly ordered to remove ſuch attendants about his majeſty as he could not implicitly truſt in, and power at the ſame time deputed him "to appoint eight ſuch perſons as he can repoſe confidence in to ſerve the king until the family arrangements now in progreſs ſhould be ſettled by the general," who demanded a liſt from Hammond of "thoſe who were then about his majeſty, as well as gentlemen in the iſland fit to be confided in, and that if he could not fill up the number of thirty, to which they were to be reſtricted, including gentlemen, their ſervants, cooks, butlers, &c., the quality of thoſe he could not ſupply was to be ſtated, in order that they might be ſent from London." Ten pounds were allowed for the expenſes of the king's table, nine pounds for the pay of a guard of two hundred

men and their officers, and thirty ſhillings for the governor's table daily, and Hammond alſo received a gratuity of one thouſand pounds, with an annuity of five hundred pounds per annum to be ſettled on him and his heirs.

Of the habits of the king at this period of his impriſonment, a very perfect account may be rendered by following the ſtatements of Herbert and Ruſhworth, wherein it appears that it was his usual practice, the weather being fair, in the morning and afternoon, to walk round the caſtle walls, accompanied by Hammond, who, as a farther means of recreation, converted the place of arms without the caſtle wall, but within the counterſcarp, into a bowling-green, with a ſummer-houſe, where, as the ſpring advanced, the king was in the practice of ſpending many vacant hours. At his dinner-table his majeſty converſed with his attendants, principally reſpecting the occurrences tranſpiring in the other parts of the kingdom; and after dinner ſoon retired to his chamber, where he remained ſecluded, but invariably obſerved his allotted hours for devotion and writing. The unpleaſant altercations with the governor, for a ſhort time, apparently ceaſed; and, notwithſtanding his reſtraint, it was the

cuſtom of diſeaſed perſons, troubled with the evil, to reſort to the iſland from all parts of the kingdom, and to ſtay in Newport and the ſurrounding villages, until they could find means of acceſs within the caſtle, there to watch the opportunity of the king's going to the bowling-green, to preſent themſelves before him and be touched for their diſtemper.

The chaplain to the governor and the garriſon was a Mr. Troughton, a young man, a graduate in one of the univerſities. He ſeldom failed being in the preſence-chamber when the king dined, as, before his majeſty retired to his chamber, he would uſually take ſeveral turns in the room, and pleaſantly enter into a diſputation with him, he being capable of arguing pretty well in defence of the tenets he held in oppoſition to ſome of the ceremonies of the church, and on the diſcipline of the epiſcopacy. On theſe occaſions Mr. Troughton was generally very earneſt in maintaining his aſſertions, which were never diſcouraged by Charles, becauſe, as he was the better logician, and poſſeſſed a ſuperior knowledge of hiſtoric and controverſial points, his majeſty always had the advantage, and their partings were conſequently invariably amicable.

But it occurred, on one occaſion, during their diſcourſe, when the young diſputant was ſtanding between a lieutenant of foot (who had his ſword in his hand, intently liſtening to their converſation) and a Mr. Duncomb, a gentleman well known to thoſe who were preſent, that the king, in the heat of the moment, ſeized the ſword ſo unexpectedly, as not only to aſtoniſh the officer but frighten the chaplain, who did not comprehend the reaſon, until Mr. Duncomb falling upon his knee, his majeſty laid the ſword upon his ſhoulder, and thereby conferred the honour of knighthood, ſaying it was done in purſuance of a promiſe he had made to his relations.

About the ſame period, a Mr. Sedgwick, who had been a preacher in the Parliamentarian army, came to Cariſbrook for the purpoſe of diſcourſing with the king on his ſpiritual concerns, and preſenting a work he had written, entitled "Leaves of the Tree of Life," an explication of the 22nd chapter of the Revelation of St. John, in the belief that his majeſty would derive much benefit as well as comfort, in his preſent poſition, from its peruſal. He deſired the governor's interceſſion to procure him an audience of the king, as well as permiſſion to addreſs him, a requeſt to which

Charles readily acceded, when he was informed that the applicant had journeyed from London with that eſpecial deſign.

Mr. Sedgwick offered his book in a reſpectful manner; but the king, after reading ſome ſmall portion, returned it with the remark, that by what he had read, he thought the author ſtood in need of ſleep; an obſervation the miniſter received with much ſatisfaction, and departed.

The next day there likewiſe arrived a Mr. Harrington, a gentleman of property, near Bath, upon the ſame charitable errand. The king, however, having previouſly heard ſomething concerning him, proffered his thanks for ſuch good intentions, but ſaid he had then no deſire to enter into a diſputation on controverſial points; whereupon Mr. Harrington wiſhed the king much happineſs, and returned homewards.

By the middle of the month of February, Fairfax completed his diſpoſitions for the future governance of the royal houſehold, and the minor arrangements were left to the diſcretion of Hammond, who, by command of the Parliament, iſſued ſtrict orders that no greater number than thirty perſons ſhould be allowed within the walls of the caſtle as ſervants of the

king, on any pretence whatever; whilſt a ſecond regulation provided for an unceaſing ſurveillance on his majeſty's movements, by the ſelection of four gentlemen to wait and watch by turns, two and two, at the door of his apartment by day, when he was within it, and at the entrance of his chamber by night, againſt which their beds were to be ſo cloſely drawn as to prevent all means of ingreſs or egreſs, until removed in the morning, or by the wiſh of the governor. Thoſe ſelected for this ſervice, and approved by the committee at Derby Houſe and the Houſe of Commons, were Mr. Thomas Herbert, Mr. Mildmay, Mr. Preſton, and Captain Silas Titus.

A biography of Captain Titus is rendered in the introduction to this work; and as, among the other perſons approved by the governor and the general, whoſe names appear in the progreſs of it, Oſborn, Dowcett, and Firebrace, will be recogniſed as the most prominent, it becomes neceſſary here to obſerve that Oſborn, by extraction a gentleman, was oſtenſibly recommended to Colonel Hammond by Lord Wharton, to be placed in ſome near attendance about the king as a ſpy, an introduction which procured him

the occupation of gentleman-uſher to his majeſty; Dowcett had been formerly in the ſervice of the Earl of Holland; and Firebrace, a former dependent of the king, on receiving an order ſoon after the coming of Charles to the Iſle of Wight, to haſten to him with what intelligence he could procure, went to Cariſbrook by permiſſion of the ſpeaker, was made one of the pages of his majeſty's bedchamber, and for some time managed to eſcape ſuſpicion, although continually engaged in furthering the king's clandeſtine correſpondence.

"His firſt endeavour," (he writes,) after his arrival, was "to give his majeſty an account of buſineſs, and to ſafely put into his hands the letters he had for him—a difficult proceeding, as there were ſpies perpetually upon him;" but for his purpoſe he found a very convenient and private place in the king's bedchamber, where he depoſited the papers, and intimated their ſecretion there to the king the ſame night, by putting a note into his hand as he was preparing to go to bed; whereupon the next morning he found an anſwer in the appointed place, in which his majeſty was pleaſed to expreſs his ſatisfaction at what he had done, and directed a continuance of the adopted mode of converſation,—an arrange-

ment which proved ſo available for ſome time, that Charles never wanted good intelligence from the queen, the prince, and many of his friends, ſeveral deſpatches being every week so conveyed, not one of which miſcarried.

CHAPTER IV.

Condition of the King—Arrangements for the Tranſmiſſion of his Correſpondence—Overtures and Services of Captain Titus and others—Firſt attempted Eſcape—Change of Lodging—And Arrangement for the Reception of Charles in the Quarters of the Chief Officer.

HAD any effort been made by Hammond to conſole the unfortunate monarch in his calamity, there would be honour due to his memory; but it does not appear that any perſonal deſire to alleviate the king's misfortunes was ever manifeſted, as in all his communications with the committee at Derby Houſe, as well as with Fairfax, Cromwell, Ireton, and others, he rather evinced a ſtern, vindictive ſhow of ſatisfaction at "the ſpecial ſervice" on which he was employed, than ſuch conſideration as majeſty demanded, humbled as it was before him. The captivity of Charles

is therefore a tale of unvaried ſorrow, for day glided away after day, and week ſucceeded week, whilſt his adverſaries were not only abuſing their advantage over him, but at this very time meditating the terrible conſummation of the artful game of their ambition, which ſo ſoon followed.

The ſurpriſing ſecret intercourſe which Charles kept up with his friends in his various captivities, is no ordinary evidence of the ſtrong perſonal attachments this unhappy prince, when deſtitute of means to bribe the ſordid, or to flatter the ambitious, inſpired in many of his enemies. He was rarely deſerted or betrayed, although it is certain that ſome underlings took advantage of their knowledge of his clandeſtine tranſactions, as well as correſpondence.

Witherings, of the Poſt-office, and one Lowe, a merchant, are ſuppoſed to have been of this deſcription of agent during the king's impriſonment at Cariſbrook, and the perſons alluded to by Lord Clarendon, as ſome of the "many who did undertake to perform theſe offices, and did not make good what they promiſed."

Firebrace, in one of his notes to Charles, obſerves, "You keep intelligence with ſomebody

that betrays you, for there is a letter of yours ſent to the governor (Hammond) from Derby Houſe;" to which the king's reply is, "Is it poſſible that the rogue Witherings hath diſcovered thoſe I ſuperſcribe to my wife, and hath ſent one of my letters to the committee? Enquire and ſee if I have not gueſſed right. Do not ſend that letter of mine to the poſthouſe, but either to Dr. Fraiſer or my Lady Carliſle, with a caution not to truſt the poſtmaſters."

In all accounts of the king's ſojourn at Holmby, mention is made of a Major Boſville, as the perſon intruſted with the taſk of conducting his majeſty's ſecret correſpondence, and who ſeems to have effected his purpoſe by occaſionally transforming himſelf into a variety of perſonages, ſometimes a mariner, ſometimes a countryman or mendicant.

For theſe treaſonable manœuvres, as they were termed, Boſville was ſeveral times committed to priſon, but as he alſo excelled in the ſingular art of eſcaping from his keepers, he invariably ſoon recovered his liberty.

Aſhburnham, Berkeley, and Legg, on their ſummary ejection from the Iſle of Wight, had

ſtationed themſelves at Netley Caſtle, near Southampton, which thenceforward became one of the principal rendezvous for thoſe royaliſts who enjoyed the more immediate confidence of the king. One of the moſt prominent of theſe perſonages was Major Boſville, who here again, in conjunction with Mrs. Wheeler, the royal laundreſs at Cariſbrook, and her aſſiſtant Mary, voluntarily undertook his old employment.

This arrangement, however, ſoon came to the knowledge of the committee at Derby Houſe, and ſuch ſpeedy intimation of the important fact was tranſmitted to Hammond, that he was materially enabled to counteract the efficiency of their plans. A diſcovery took place on one occaſion, in conſequence of the ſtupidity of the meſſenger diſpatched from Boſville's veſſel to the caſtle, where he himſelf was afraid to venture. This man, getting partly tipſy at Newport, ſo far forgot his inſtructions, that on reaching Cariſbrook, inſtead of aſking for Mrs. Wheeler or her maid Mary, to either of whom he was authoriſed to deliver his charge, remembered only that he was to ſee a woman of the name of Mary; and although he was admitted within the walls, his conduct was ſo ſuſpicious that he was watched by the guard,

and ſeized on their obſerving that he made directly for the king's apartment, inſtead of ſhaping his courſe to the portion of the caſtle allotted to the royal domeſtics. In his pocket was found a packet addreſſed to Captain Mildmay, a procedure adopted to eſcape ſuſpicion; and on admitting he was ordered to deliver it into the king's hands, he, as well as Mary the aſſiſtant laundreſs, were committed to ſafe-keeping, whilſt Boſville, who quickly received intelligence of the miſcarriage of his truſt, quietly effected his eſcape.

The packet, on being opened by Hammond, was found to contain two letters from one J. Darley, two from N. D., one from the queen, another from the princeſs, and one from the Duke of York, who, with the Duke of Glouceſter and their ſiſter the Princeſs Elizabeth, (then detained at York Houſe, under the care of the Duke of Northumberland,) had remained in ignorance of their parent's imprisonment, until informed by a ſervant of the duke that ſuch was the caſe. On receiving permiſſion from Northumberland to write to his ſiſter the Princeſs of Orange, the duke ſeized the ſame opportunity to indite a letter in cipher to the king,

which was handed to Boſville by Mr. Oudart, but unluckily failed in delivery, from the cauſe just mentioned.

Theſe letters were of courſe immediately tranſmitted by Hammond to London, and the queen's epiſtle was found to ſtate, that during the ſad condition he (Charles) was in, nothing could bring more comfort to her than hearing from him, and wondered that on the laſt return of the deſpatch ſhe had heard nothing from him, but ſuppoſes the letters were intercepted. A conſiderable portion then followed in cipher, and the concluſion implored the mercy of God for the preſervation of his majeſty, and his power for the deſtruction of his enemies.

The princeſs humbly repreſented her duty to her father, and craved ſhe might be ſo honoured by him, and made ſo happy as to underſtand by a line or two under his royal hand, the good news of his health, for which ſhe daily prayed.

A committee of the houſe was appointed to examine the duke,* who would acknow-

* On the 21ſt of the month of April following, the Duke of York effected his eſcape by one of thoſe romantic ſeries of adventures which ſeem almoſt allied to the name of Stuart. It was an adventure to which he was urged by the queen, with the approval of the king. Conſequently the opportunity for ſecuring his

ledge nothing except he had written to his father to let him know the queen and his brothers

freedom was eagerly ſought for by the prince, and an immediate advantage taken when the probability of a ſucceſsful termination to his endeavours preſented itſelf. By the report rendered to the Houſe of Commons, it appears the manner was in this wiſe :— "The duke, with his brother and ſiſter were, after their supper, playing in a room by themſelves, when he privately ſtepped down ſtairs without either coat, cloak, ſhoes or ſtockings, and by means of a door communicating from the garden to the park, whereof he had obtained a key, made his eſcape from his impriſonment." The Duke of Glouceſter with the Princeſs Elizabeth, however, ſtill remained priſoners, and were ſoon after conſigned to the care of the infamous Lady Carliſle at St. James's, who had a grant of 3000*l.* per annum for their maintenance, with a ſtrict injunction that they were to be deprived of all princely diſtinction. From St. James', however, they were ultimately conſigned to the ſaddeſt of all ſad places to them, the caſtle of Cariſbrook, the ſcene of their father's crueleſt impriſonment, and from whence he was dragged to die. It is well known that the princeſs died in this caſtle on the 8th of September, 1650, of a fever brought on by anguiſh and deſpair, deſpite of all the medicine and remedies tried by Sir Theodore Mayerne, her father's faithful phyſician, who, on becoming aware of her proſtrate condition, came to Cariſbrook to preſcribe for her. She is ſaid to have expired alone, whilſt ſitting in the apartment allotted to her, with her cheek reclining on her parent's laſt gift—his Bible. Her interment took place in the church of St. Thomas's, at Newport, on the 24th of the ſame month, attended by the corporate authorities of Newport, with ſuch little ſhow of ſtate as was then permitted. Crawford ſays ſhe was a lady of incomparable abilities and admirable virtues; but being by order of the regicides ſent to the tedious priſon of her royal father, and more ſenſible of his murder than the loſs of her own liberty, ſhe wasted away, and expired with the extremity of melancholy and grief, in the 15th year of her age. The Duke of Glouceſter remained at Cariſbrook, with no

and ſiſters were in good health, and that he had burnt the cipher; but on his becoming aware it was likely he would be committed to the Tower, he sent a letter of ſubmiſſion, incloſing the cipher; a reſult which probably explains the medium through which the committee were afterwards enabled to decipher much of the king's intercepted correſpondence.

Queen Henrietta Maria, who was moſt unpopular with the principal among the Engliſh cavaliers, was at this era reſiding either at the Louvre, or St. Germains; and although much calumny has been heaped upon her by moſt hiſtorians for her alleged neglect of the king during his impriſonment at Cariſbrook, an impartial examination of the facts goes very far to diſpel ſuch an opinion. Her own ſituation was deplorable; and on the return of the ſhip ſhe had with great difficulty raiſed the means to deſpatch to Southampton, ſhe well knew the impolicy and danger of adviſing Charles to betake himſelf to the French capital during the alarming juncture which then prevailed there. The troubles and deprivations of Henrietta Maria, in the year

other ſtyle than "Mr. Harry," till 1652, when Cromwell permitted him to embark for Holland.

1648, were, in truth, in some particulars more enduring than even thoſe of the king, and as the fortunes of her royal conſort grew darker and darker, her own lowered dark enough.

The Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles the Second, was alſo reſident in Paris at the commencement of that year, engaged, until he departed to take the command of the Engliſh ſhips which had forſaken Cromwell and taken refuge at Helvoetſluys, in deviſing and counſelling meaſures for the relief of his father. A touching memorial of the prince's ſolicitude being deducible from "the litany and prayers compiled by order of the prince for the king of Great Britain in his ſad condition, and conſtantly uſed in his highneſs's chapel, at eight in the morning and at five in the afternoon, daily."*

"O moſt gracious Lord God, the ruler of princes when they are on their thrones, and their protection when they are in peril, look down mercifully from Heaven, we moſt humbly pray thee, upon the low eſtate of thine anointed our king: comfort him in his troubles; defend him in his dangers; ſtrengthen him in his good reſolution; and command thine angels to pitch their

* Printed at Paris, 1648.

tents round about him, that he may be defended from the hands of all thoſe that deſire his hurt, and may ſpeedily be re-eſtabliſhed in the juſt rights of his throne, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. Amen."

Charles was now a king without a kingly power, but not without kingly influence; for, as writes Diſraeli,* the captive of Cariſbrook Caſtle was ſtill awefully remembered by the people. He dwelt in their thoughts, and ſometimes in their hearts. He had long ceaſed to be an object of fear, and in their deſpairs he had now become mingled with their laſt hopes, becauſe, preſſed by monthly contributions (on the 16th February the Iſle of Wight had been aſſeſſed to a monthly contribution of 69*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* on account of an ordinance for 20,000*l.* for the relief of Ireland) for the arrears of the ſoldiery, and vexed by taxations diſguiſed under forms and names unheard of, the ſhip-money ſeemed but a light grievance.

The labourers of the harveſt found no gleanings at the evening hour. The giddy multitude in the capital burſt into a commotion, and called for "God and the king." The ſpon-

* Commentary.

taneous cry was re-echoed by the populace of diſtant cities. The royal ſtandard was unfurled in Wales, the Kentiſh men flocked to the trumpet of Goring, and the men of Eſſex had the ſad glory of ſuffering the laſt in the miſeries of the civil war by the memorable ſiege of Colcheſter. The fleet revolted to the prince. The cloud of an army was gathered in the north, where the Engliſh royaliſts here and there were awaiting for the army of Scotland led by the Duke of Hamilton. The cavaliers appeared in almoſt every county in England, and all roſe in oppoſite directions, but too diſtant to communicate, too early to be joined by the tardy, and too late to unite with the diſperſed.

Theſe various actions had called away from their ſeat of power in Weſtminſter the chief commanders of the army; and in the abſence of their authority and their complicated intrigues, the Preſbyterian party gradually recovered their power of pre-eminence; the late exiled members returned to their ſeats; and Holles, the great orator of the Preſbyterians, once more reſumed his preponderance, whilſt the Independents, without their chiefs, lurked in a minority. This was a ſtate of things moſt favourable to the vanquiſhed

monarch, who, however, in the mean time was subjected to the moſt rigid and deſolate impriſonment: even the tone of the governor again changed to inſolence and reprimand, though the perſons that had been placed about the king, and heretofore ſtrangers, ſoon formed a deep perſonal attachment for him; and thus gave riſe to the extraordinary incidents and guileleſs ſtratagems which have rendered ſo romantic all relations (imperfect as they are) of the captivity of Charles within the walls of Cariſbrook, and the caſtle itſelf a habitation of melancholy memories. At this time friends devoted to his ſervice nightly hovered on the ſea-ſhores, watched about his dwelling, and held an inviſible intercourſe with the lonely monarch, who could not openly command a ſingle meſſenger. Harrington, one of the perſons ſent by the Parliament, and a zealous republican, became ſo forcibly affected by the ability and dignity of the king as to be removed from his attendance. Oſborn, who had been fixed as a ſpy near his perſon under the title of his gentleman-uſher, and whoſe office was conſequently to hold the king's glove during his dinner, ſoon ſlid a note with an offer of his devoted ſervices in the finger of it, which thus became the recep-

tacle of an uninterrupted correſpondence between them, whilſt Firebrace by ingratiating himſelf into the favour of one of the king's conſervators, ſo far obtained his confidence as to be permitted to aſſume his duty of waiting at the door opening into the backſtairs, whilſt he abſented himſelf at ſupper, and by ſo doing, obtained a ſeries of uninterrupted interviews with the king, who invariably retired to his chamber after he had ſupped; but as danger might be apprehended during theſe ſtealthy interviews from the intruſion of the principal guardian, the expedient was adopted of perforating a chink in the wainſcoat behind the hangings, which, Firebrace writes, "ſerved as well as the opening of the door; and was more ſafe, for upon the leaſt noiſe, by letting fall the hanging all was ſafe;" and by this means Charles received and delivered many an important deſpatch, and deviſed the arrangements for attempting his eſcape from an impriſonment which was now become intolerable.

So early as the 7th of February in this year, Lord Kent, on the part of the committee, wrote to Hammond informing him they have received ſome intelligence from a very good hand which

has never failed, that there was then a deſign in agitation through the medium of one *Napier*, and a ſervant of David Murray (believed to be his majeſty's tailor), to effect the enlargement of the king, by breaking the floor and ceiling of the room over the royal chamber, and drawing him up through the aperture ſo formed, from whence he was to be conveyed from one apartment to another, until all the rooms were paſſed where there was a guard at either door or window.*

On the 13th of March, the governor was again appriſed by the ſame authority that two of thoſe in attendance on the king were engaged in a ſimilar enterpriſe, although they could not diſcover their names, nor "the grounds they have to expect their ſervice in it," but deſired him to exerciſe increaſed vigilance over the actions of his majeſty's houſehold.

So ingenious, however, were the artifices which were practiſed by thoſe engaged in theſe perilous undertakings, and ſo multifarious the manœuvres adopted to evade Hammond's precautions, that his determination and authority were equally at fault in diſcovering and ſuppreſſing the intrigues inſti-

* Letter to Hammond.

tuted by the contrivers of this dreaded proceeding. Five hundred additional men were ſent over and quartered throughout the iſland, "two pieces of ſix-pound bullets, two ſakers, and eight three-pounds braſs ordnance," were ſent thither from Poole in Dorſetſhire, and planted about the out-works of the caſtle, as well as two hundred demi-culverin ſhot from Arundel Caſtle;* and an aſſeſſment on the iſland for three months was granted at the requeſt of the governor for the payment of the ſoldiery there.†

In the Appendix to the ſecond volume of Clarendon's "State Papers," it is ſtated that about this time (March, 1648) there was "a flying report" (Lord Clarendon, however, remarks, "which ſeems to me ſomewhat improbable,") that Hammond came in to the king "ſuddenly at two o'clock in the night, and the king ſuſpecting ſome treachery [from his] coming at that unſeaſonable hour, ſlipped on his clothes; and Hammond went readily to his cabinet and ſearched it, but found not ſuch papers as he looked for, and then endeavoured to ſearch the king's pocket; but his majeſty reſiſted and gave him a box on the ear; and it is ſaid he ſtruck the king again. Upon

* Ruſhworth. † Hammond's Letter.

this violence offered, the king took the papers out of his pocket and thruſt them into the fire, which Hammond attempted to pull out again; but the king ſo well guarded them that they were all burned, though in this ſcuffle it is ſaid the king got a hurt on his face by a knock againſt the edge of the table." Mr. Secretary Nicholas adds as his opinion, that this ſtatement is confirmed by other relations; and that ſome ſuch belief was at the time generally entertained, is evidenced by Aſhburnham's ſtatement, as well as by reference to a pamphlet, publiſhed (April 12th) immediately after the implied aſſault, and entitled "The Fatal Blow, or the moſt impious and treaſonable fact of Hammond in offering force unto and hurting his Sacred Majeſty, diſcuſſed;" wherein the writer ſays, "notwithſtanding gaoler Hammond's moſt ſolemn proteſtation unto his majeſty to treat him well, promiſeth this Parliament that he will obey all their commands, although never ſo contrary to his ſenſe of honour, *id est;* his former engagements to his majesty, ſo abſolutely is he their creature. And to ſhow us how true he is unto his laſt engagement, in his majeſty's late reſiſtance to him, in the search of ſome papers, *he hath moſt im-*

piouſly and traitorouſly wounded his moſt ſacred majeſty."

Many ſurmiſes might be entertained, and all with ſome ſhow of truthfulneſs, as to the contents of the papers the Parliament, by the aid of Hammond, (perhaps at the inſtigation of Cromwell and Ireton, for if the remarkable correſpondence at this very time carried between theſe perſonages and Hammond had come to the knowledge of the two Houſes, it is more than probable a ſtrange diſcloſure would have been the reſult) were ſo eager to obtain. As great aſtoniſhment was openly expreſſed at the king's knowledge of the Votes of the Houſe of Commons, and other matters of a more extended import, no doubt ſome anxiety would be manifeſted to diſcover the means whereby his information was obtained; but the moſt probable conjecture ſeems to be, that it was an endeavour to secure the record of the tranſactions between Charles and the Scottiſh commiſſioners, which was reaſonably, although erroneouſly, ſuppoſed to be ſtill in the king's poſſeſſion. Luckily, however, on the departure of Aſhburnham and Berkeley from the iſland, they had taken the precaution to induce his majeſty to provide for

the ſafe-keeping of ſo important and dangerous a document, by allowing them to encaſe it in lead, and afterwards temporarily depoſit it in a garden belonging to Sir Charles Berkley.

In the meantime, the king appeared to ſubmit with patience to the reſtraints put upon his freedom, and even affected an air of cheerfulneſs in order to diſguise the deſign for making his eſcape, which he ſtill cheriſhed, and was now perfecting; whilſt the almoſt daily written injunctions to Firebrace, "if you can let me ſpeak with you this night at the chink," intereſtingly ſhow the generous devotion of thoſe who were ſeeking to ſerve him in this endeavour, perſons to whom when in the preſence he hardly dared to direct a ſilent look, or a meaning geſture, as in one of Firebrace's notes, he writes, "I hope this day at dinner you understood my looks, for the ſoldier I told you of, whoſe looks I like, was then there in a white nightcap, and as I thought you took notice, I hope to find ſomething from you when I come in from walking;" thus forcibly showing the prompt sagacity of the king, and the romantic courſe of that remarkable ſecret correspondence which caused a general ſuſpicion to be excited, and every obſtacle adopted in the way of that perſonal

deprivation which could be ſafely devised to counteract its effect. "The ſuperſtition" of the majeſty of his "grey, diſcrowned head," as Mr. Godwin expreſſes it, was however gradually exciting the ſympathies and receiving the truſt of thoſe who had been placed about him as men of approved fidelity, but whoſe judgments and affections, then of an oppoſite character, were now connected with, and eager in aſſiſting, ſeveral of the principal inhabitants of the iſland, in fomenting the ferment by which the exactions for the ſupport of the military and other obnoxious impoſts were agitating the entire maſs of the community there.

Mr. Edward Worſley, connected with one of the moſt reputable families in the iſland, and Mr. John Newland, a member of the corporation of Newport, ventured to intimate to Charles, through the agency of Firebrace and Captain Titus, their deſire to aid in an attempt to reſtore him to liberty; whilſt others within the caſtle, probably Burroughs and Creſſet, profeſſing themſelves true penitents, and anxious to redeem paſt errors by preſent and future ſervices, made a ſimilar proffer through the ſame medium, a procedure which gave riſe to a portion

of that correſpondence with Captain Titus it is the intent of this volume to place before the public; a moſt intereſting and curious memento of the memorable occurrences which immediately followed, in which Captain Titus became ſo prominent a leader, and ſo truſted a confidant of the king's. These letters are written on pieces of paper of various ſizes and ſhapes; ſome on the full ſize of half a ſheet of foolſcap, others on merely ſcraps of little more than an inch in breadth, and with the exception of the firſt, in a feigned hand, having the moſt important portions in cipher.

This ſecret is a valuable and authentic illuſtration of the very plans arranged for the eſcape of the king by himſelf and his confederates, and renders it evident that the adherence of theſe parties to the ſervice of his majeſty ſoon imparted a new tone to the proceedings which had been before rather hopeleſſly than hopefully arranged; whilſt Charles haſtened to convey his acceptance of their overtures in the following communication:—

Number I.

"CAPT. TITUS,

"Let thoſe officers, you told me of, know that as my neceſſity is now greater than euer, ſo what ſeruice ſhall be done me now, muſt haue the firſt place in my thoughts, when euer I ſhall be in a condition to requite my friends and pitty my Eennemies: I cōmand you (when you can do it, without hazard either to yourſelfe or them) that you ſend me, in particular, the names of thoſe who you thus finde ſenſible of their duty, and reſolued to diſcharge the parts of true Engliſhmen; laſtly, aſſeure euery one, that, with me, preſent ſeruices wipes out former falts; so I reſt,

"Your aſſured friend,

"CHARLES R."

From this time the new partiſans proceeded without diſſimulation in any of the negotiations or dangerous endeavours their exertions for the king's welfare prompted them to undertake, and only earneſtly ſought to extricate him from his moſt trying ſituation; whilſt ſo well was the ſecret of the great change meditated by the king kept,

and ſo diſcreet and ſagacious was the propoſed courſe of action, that it is more than probable if Charles had been leſs ſanguine of the part he himſelf was to play in his deſperate reſolve, that the eſcape firſt contemplated, under the auſpices of Firebrace, Titus, and others, on the 20th March, 1648, would have been ſucceſsful.

Firebrace ſays, "Amongſt other ways I propoſed his coming out of his bedchamber window, which he ſaid he could do, there being room enough.

"I told him I fancied it was too narrow. He ſaid he had tryed with his head and he was ſure, where that would paſs the body would follow: yet, ſtill I doubted, and propoſed a way to make it a little wider, by cutting the plate the caſement ſhut to at the bottom, which then might eaſily have been put by.

"He objected, that might make a diſcovery, and commanded me to prepare all things elſe; and that, he was confident, would not impede him.

"I had made for this eſcape Mr. Worſley (now Sir Edward Worſley), a very worthy gentleman now living in the iſland, Mr. Richard

Oſburn, a gentleman put in by the Parliament to attend the king, and Mr. John Newland* of Newport, who all proved very faithful: and thus we were to proceed: I ſhould toſs ſomething againſt the window, which was the ſign to put himſelf out, and to let himſelf down by a cord which I for that purpoſe had given him.

"Being down, and in the dark night, I was to conduct him acroſs the court (no ſentinel being in the way) to the great wall of the caſtle, where I was to have let him down by a long cord, a ſtick being faſtened acroſs the end for him to ſit on.

"Beyond this wall was the counterſcarp, which was low: beyond that, and quite out of the caſtle, waited Mr. Worſley and Mr. Oſburn on horſeback, with a good horſe, ſaddle, piſtols, boots, &c., for the king. They were to help his majeſty from the counterſcarp, which they could eaſily do from their horſes.

"At the ſea-ſide, in a convenient place, was

* On reference to the corporate books of the Borough of Newport, for the year 1648–9, it is found as a corroborative and ſingular coincidence, that although generally moſt punctual in his attendance at the meetings of the corporation, Mr. Newland was abſent during the whole of the time the king's affairs engaged his attention.

Mr. John Newland with a lufty boat, which might have carried his majefty to what part he had thought fit: all things were thus prepared, and every one well inftructed in his part. The king, as he walked, had been often fhewed the place by me where he was to be let down, and where he was to get over the counterfcarp, which his majefty well approved of.

"In the middle of thefe hopes, I gave the fign at the appointed time; his majefty put himfelf forward, but then too late found himfelf miftaken, he fticking faft between his breaft and fhoulders, and not able to get forward or backward, but that, at the inftant before he endeavoured to come out, he miftrufted and tied a piece of his cord to a bar of the window within, by means whereof he forced himfelf back.

"Whilft he ftuck I heard him groan, but could not come to help him, which (you may imagine) was no small affliction to me. So foon as he was in again, to let me fee (as I had to my grief heard) the defign was broken, he fet a candle in the window. If this unfortunate impediment had not happened, his majefty had certainly then made a good efcape.

"Now I was in pain how to give notice to

thoſe without; which I could find no better way to do, than by flinging ſtones from the high wall, where I ſhould have let down the king to the place where they ſtaid, which proved ſo effectual, that they went off, and never any diſcovery was made of this."*

In a note, paſſed by the chink, from the king to Firebrace, immediately after this unfortunate failure, he ſays: "The narrowneſs of the window was the only impediment of my eſcape, and therefore some inſtrument muſt be had to remove that bar, which I believe is not hard to get: for I have ſeen many, and ſo portable, that a man might put them in his pocket. I think it is called the endleſs ſcrew, or the great force. I have now made a perfect trial, and find it impoſſible to be done, for my body is much too thick for the breadth of the window, ſo that unleſs the middle bar be taken away I cannot get through. It is abſolutely impoſſible to do anything tomorrow night, but I command you, heartily and particularly, to thank in my name, A. (*Creſſet*), C. (*Col. Legge*), F. (*Dowcett*), Z. (*Mr. Worſley*), and him who ſtaid for me beyond the

* Letter written by Mr. Henry Firebrace to Sir George Lane, Knt., Secretary to the Duke of Ormond, July 21ſt, 1675.

works (*Mr. Newland*), for their hearty and induſtrious endeavours in this my ſervice; the which I ſhall always remember, being likewiſe confident that they will not fail in ſo good a work."

Lord Clarendon, in his "Hiſtory of the Rebellion," relates this incident as if it were only a tale which the "idle jade, Rumour," had ſpread abroad, and expreſſes it as his opinion that it was a mere fiction, a conjecture which perhaps ſhould not create much ſurpriſe when one of the principal inſtigators and actors in the affair is found, after a lapſe of nearly thirty years, ſtating it as his belief, "that never any diſcovery was made of it;" and that Mr. Aſhburnham, to whom the reſult was immediately communicated, alſo writes in his Narrative, "Hee got back again without anie certaine notice taken by anie man but by him (Firebrace) who waited to have ſerved him when he had come downe."

Theſe ſuppoſitions, however, by reference to a letter addreſſed to Hammond by Cromwell, on the 6th of April following, are ſeen to have been moſt fallacious, although it may be aſſumed as a matter of certainty, that until the receipt of this epiſtle, the authorities at Cariſbrook were as equally ignorant of the near conſummation of

the king's deſign, as of the untoward reſult which had attended his friends' endeavours.

Cromwell ſays, "Intelligence came to the hands of a very conſiderable perſon, that the king attempted to get out of his window, and that he had a cord of ſilk with him, whereby to ſlip down; but his breaſt was ſo big, the bar would not give him paſſage. This was done in one of the dark nights about a fortnight ago. A gentleman with you led him the way and ſlipped down. The guard that night had ſome quantity of wine with them. The ſame party aſſures that there is aquafortis gone down from London to remove that obſtacle which hindered, and that the ſame deſign is to be put in execution in the next dark nights.

"He ſaith that Captain Titus and ſome others about the king are not to be truſted. He is a very conſiderable perſon of the parliament, who gave this intelligence, and defired it ſhould be speded to you. The gentleman that came out of the window was Maſter Firebrace; the gentlemen doubted are Creſſet, Burroughs, and Titus: the time when this attempt at eſcape was .... the 20th of March."

From this time, Firebrace intimates in his

Narrative, "there ensued a general suspicion, but they could point at nobody. Hammond ſet his engines at work, and did pump me; ſo I heard he did others: but at laſt he took me into examination, and when he could make no diſcovery he told me the reaſon.

"I acquainted the king with all paſſages, at which he was much troubled, and told me, if they had a ſuſpicion of me, they would never leave till they had ruined me; and would have had me gone with his letters to the prince his ſon (now our ſovereign lord and maſter), but I told his majeſty I was confident they could prove nothing againſt me, and therefore begged I might ſtay to ſee the iſſue; and that if the worſt happened, they could but put me away, and then I did not doubt but that I ſhould be able some way or other to ſerve his majeſty.

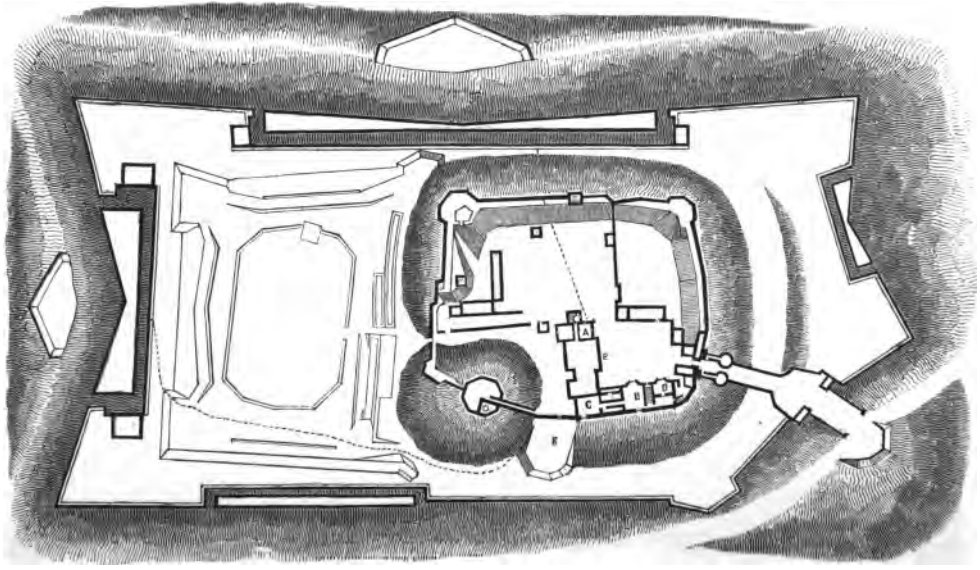
"After this Hammond sent for me again, and told me he had received other letters, and that he muſt diſmiſs me as he ſhould do others, but that I might ſtay, if I would, three or four days. This I looked upon as a trap; however, I accepted of it, but carried myſelf cautiouſly. I acquainted the king, and ſettled ſuch a way of correſpondence that his majeſty did not want

conſtant intelligence from his friends, as before, and had his deſpatches brought carefully to me, and ſent them away with the like good ſucceſs as formerly, during the whole time I was from him."

On or about the 21ſt of April, as announced in the "Every Day Journal" of the 27th of that month, Captain Titus, Burroughs, and Creſſet were ſent from the caſtle by order of the governor, under the authority he had received from the Derby Houſe committee on the 18th of February, wherein he was empowered "to place and diſplace ſuch perſons as were to attend the king as he ſhould ſee occaſion;" although, if any credibility can be attached to the report which reached the committee, theſe perſonages had conceived the idea "of ſetting fire to the caſtle by firing a great heap of charcoal that lies near the king's lodging, and upon that tumult he to make his eſcape"* before they left.

The royal lodging, from the firſt coming of the king to Cariſbrook until the month of May, 1648, conſiſted of the moſt lofty portion of the governor's reſidence; an elevation, as will have been perceived in the progreſs of this

* Letter to Hammond, 15th April.



PLAN OF CARISBROOK CASTLE IN 1648.

A. Rooms occupied by the King on his first arrival.
B. The Presence Chamber, after first attempt at escape.
C. The Bedroom from which the second attempt was made.
D. Rooms of the Chief Officer.
E. Residence of the Governor.
E. New Platform thrown up to guard the King's windows.

narrative, of three rooms: a presence-chamber, a retiring apartment on the firſt floor, and above both of these the room in which the floor was to have been broken through, as ſpoken of in the relation of the deſigned eſcape by Napier and others, at page 101; a detail which enables the identity of their poſition to be moſt ſatisfactorily determined.

In the accompanying plan of the caſtle of Cariſbrook, prepared after a recent inveſtigation, carefully made for the purpoſes of this work, and in accordance with the remaining fragmental evidences of its internal adaptation at the period of the king's impriſonment there, the site of theſe rooms—the Saliſbury Tower—is eaſily diſtinguiſhed by the dotted line drawn from it indicative of the route intended to have been taken by Charles and Firebrace, had they succeeded in regaining his anticipated freedom; but on Hammond's becoming aware of the circumſtances appertaining to this abortive attempt, he reſolved at once to remove the king from theſe apartments to a suite of rooms appended to the quarters of the chief officer, then a building compoſed of a ſeries of gable frontages of the era of Elizabeth,

placed on the left ſide of the firſt court of the caſtle after paſſing the great gate-way, and directly oppoſite the chapel; as he deemed the poſition to be one entirely free from many of the facilities the king and his counsellors had hitherto been enabled to avail themſelves of.

The caſtle of Cariſbrook marks the ſituation of one of thoſe rude and almoſt primeval fortreſſes conſiſting of a raiſed earthen ballium and foſſe ſtill to be ſtudied in many parts of the kingdom; afterwards occupied by the Romans, and, on their retirement, ſucceſſively by the Saxons and Danes, as their varied ſucceſſes gave them poſſeſſion of the iſland. With the coming of the Normans, however, dates that firſt permanent ſtone erection, which, after being more than once re-modelled in accordance with the faſhion of the age in which the improvements were effected, eventually aſſumed the elevation which, grey and time-worn, has deſcended to our day. Amidſt all these re-edifications, the priſtine earth-work, as the ſubſtructure of its more important ſucceſſor, ſtill remained intact, a formation which cauſed the entire outline of the area within the caſtle at the baſe of the walls

to preſent an almoſt precipitous bank of earth, which deſcended to the natural level, whilſt on its ſummit was upreared the fabric which has long reſted within the embrace of the terrific conqueror of all things, but even amidſt the ruin and depoſit of centuries is vaſt and venerably grand. The retention of the work of the olden time would of courſe materially diminiſh the ſize of the chambers on the ground floor of thoſe buildings approximating to it, although the rooms immediately over, by embracing the additional ſpace the formation of the earthwork conſumed, were well-proportioned and convenient. The apartments now to be occupied by the king were on the upper floor of a building to which ſuch a deſcription is incident, and conſiſted of a preſence and bed-chamber, having communication by a paſſage that directly connected them; whilſt to the principal door of the preſence-chamber there was appended a ſtaircaſe, which deſcended to the court-yard through the dwelling of the chief officer.

In the year 1719, as appears by a rude ſketch ſtill extant, this diviſion of the fortreſs was even then in a ſtate of great dilapidation, if not of abſolute ruin; a decay principally attributable to

the fact that but little coſt had been incurred in reparation from the time of the Reſtoration, as, when the office of the governor of the iſland rapidly merged into a ſinecure, the expenditure was naturally limited to his own habitation. For a long ſeries of years, therefore, the thiſtle has bloomed amidſt their deſolation, and the winds have moaned over the ruined walls, little heeding the ſad review which an inſpection of the precinct conjures up. The ſite of the king's preſence-chamber is ſtill eaſily diſtinguiſhable, as to it appertained the window which has been long looked on with a feeling of curioſity from the alluſions made to it in all narratives of the king's projected eſcapes. It has thereby been made memorable; but incorrectly ſo, as the firſt attempt was made, as already ſhown, from the reſidence appropriated to the governor, and as will be hereafter perceived, the ſucceeding effort was again deſigned through the window of his majeſty's bedroom, an aperture blocked up in after-alterations, but nevertheleſs eaſily recognisable on the exterior of the wall, as it nearly adjoins the only buttreſs on this ſide of the caſtle.

From the peculiarity of the poſition of the

fortreſs a conſiderable fall in the level of the ancient earthwork, nearly eight feet, is found in the ſpace which intervenes between theſe windows. The floor of the preſence-chamber reſted on the ballium itſelf, whilſt that of the retiring-chamber was conſiderably above it, a diſpoſition which obliged Hammond materially to vary the additional precautions he deemed neceſſary to take for preventing all fears of the king's ſafe incarceration in his new abode. The window of the preſence-chamber, which had heretofore contained but one iron bar between the ſtone mullions, a ſpace of ſixteen inches, received a ſecond; and beneath that of the bedroom a platform was thrown up, where a ſentinel was ſtationed, and ordnance placed,—alterations which cauſed the little delay in the king's removal, which he intimated in his note to Captain Titus.

Number II.

King Charles to Captain Titus.

"W.

"This truſty bearer will eaſe my paynes by telling you why yett I have not yet changed my lodging; and alſo deſyre your advice concerning remouing of obſtructions; so that this

being but to give you an occaſion to wryte to mee, I need ſay no more, but that I am

"Your moſt real friend,

"J."

"I pray you commend me verry hartely to 688."

This note is written in a feigned hand, and without date, but evidently about the 24th April, 1648. In the cipher uſed by the king at this time, the letter W expreſſed Captain Titus, and J, the king, the truſty bearer having in all probability been Firebrace, who received his diſmiſſal within a few days from that of Titus himſelf.

It muſt not, however, be ſuppoſed that the fittings of theſe apartments were merely limited to the rude military appointments of the day, for by a reference to the appraiſement of the furniture and plate within the caſtle after the king's execution, it is evident that regal ſplendour prevailed therein, for the appraiſement is ſo minute in its deſcriptive detail, that a moſt vivid idea may be readily conceived, and more than imaginative picture drawn of the "Royal Portraiture, in his ſolitudes and ſufferings," and whilſt living in the

cuſtody of his enemies, as from this time he is found ſubjected to a rigid and deſolate impriſonment, and injury and inſult became familiar to him.

An inventory of goods in Cariſbrook Caſtle, appraiſed the 17th October, 1650:*

	£	s.	d.
Imprimis, one ſtanding bedſtead, covered with crimſon velvet, trimmed with gold and ſilver lace, and fringed, with all the furniture thereunto belonging, ſuitable, and the cheſt	120	0	0
Sold Mr. Houghton and Mr. Baſs, the 8th October, 1651, for ditto.			
One fuſtian down bed and bolſter, one fuſtian quilt, one holland quilt, two cloth blankets, and a fuſtian blanket	11	0	0
Sold Mr. Houghton, ditto for 11*l.* 0 0			
One crimſon damaſk window curtain, of ſeven breadths, lined with perpetuana	7	0	0
Sold to ditto, for ditto.			
Two ſmall window curtains, of crimſon damaſk, lined as aforeſaid	3	10	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One 10 qr. feather bed and bolſter, two woollen blankets, and a red rug	5	0	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One watchet velvet neceſſary ſtool	1	10	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One foot carpet	4	10	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
Two ſmall Turkey carpets	12	0	0
Sold Mr. Houghton and Mr. Baſs for ditto.			

* Harleian MS. 4898.

	£	s.	d.
Eight pieces of Arras hangings . . .	210	0	0
Sold Mr. Mildmay, 19th Auguſt, 1653, for ditto.			
Eight pieces of Turkey hangings of the Roman Emperors	90	0	0
Sold Mr. Houghton the 8th October, 1651, ditto.			
Two pieces of tapeſtry of imagery, marked O. J.	12	10	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
Twelve folding ſtooles of green velvet, trimmed with gold and ſilver fringe . . .	8	0	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
Two green velvet chairs, two cuſhions, and a footſtool . . .	7	0	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
Two high chairs, of yellow-wrought ſatin, and two high ſtools, two cuſhions, and two footſtools ſuitable	6	0	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One high chair of crimſon velvet, two high ſtools, and a footſtool of the ſame . . .	3	10	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
Two ſmall carpets, of Perſian making . .	3	0	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One Turkey carpet	2	10	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One neceſſary ſtool, of crimſon velvet . .	1	10	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One window curtain, of crimſon and yellow damaſk	3	0	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One ſmall carpet	0	8	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One 11 qr. feather bed and bolſter, two blankets .	5	0	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One counterpane of tapeſtry . . .	2	0	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
Two large curtains of brocatillo . . .	9	0	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			

	£	s.	d.
One ½ feather bed and bolſter, 2 woollen blankets, and a red rug	6	0	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One ſmall carpet	8	0	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One ſtanding bedſtead, covered with green velvet, laced and fringed with gold and ſilver, with all the furniture thereunto belonging ſuitable, valued at	130	0	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One large down bed and bolſter, one fuſtian quilt, one holland quilt, and one blanket	10	0	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
Two window curtains, of blue and white damaſk	5	0	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One ſmall Turkey carpet	0	8	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One ſmall chair of crimſon velvet, which was Queen Elizabeth's	0	10	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One ½ bed and bolſter, two cloth blankets, and a tapeſtry counterpane	0	7	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One Turkey carpet	3	0	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
Three ſmall carpets	1	4	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One large Turkey carpet	5	0	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One other Turkey carpet	2	0	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
One other Turkey carpet	2	10	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			
Three bed caſes	0	10	0
Sold to ditto for ditto.			

	£	s.	d.
Plate.—Two baſons and ewers, six candleſticks, forty-four trencher plates, ſix fruit diſhes, ſix platters, ſix diſhes, ſix ſaucers, one chamber-pot, two chargers, one warming-pan, and ten ſpoons, two chafers with covers, one ladle, one long ſpoon, two plates with ſnuffers, and two caudle cups with covers, two porringers, one drinking-cup, one tankard, two ſugar-boxes, three ſalts, and a little baſon and ewer, one chamber-pot, two piece baſons, and one chafing-diſh, all weighing 197 lbs. 8 oz. troy, at 4*s.* 11*d.* per oz.	585	3	6
Sold Mr. Houghton and Mr. Baſs, the 8th October, 1651, for ditto.			

This document probably alſo includes articles ſent for the uſe of the Duke of Glouceſter and Princeſs Elizabeth, but it is of courſe impoſſible to diſcriminate between them.

CHAPTER V.

Sir John Bowring's Narrative—Preparations for Second Attempt to Eſcape—Letters to Captain Titus—Diſcovery and Fruſtration of the Attempt—Accuſation againſt Major Rolph—Curious proceedings conſequent thereon—Trial and Acquittal of Rolph at the Aſſizes at Wincheſter.

IN the year 1703, there was publiſhed amongſt a collection of papers purported to have been found in the ſtudy of a nobleman lately deceaſed, a garrulous narrative written by a Sir John Bowring to Charles the Second, for the purpose of recommending himself of "many moſt occult conſiderable concerns and secret tranſactions relating to England's royal protomartyr." Certainly a remarkable relation, if credence can be placed in it, but of this great doubt may be reaſonably entertained, "as the ſingular political foreſight of the knight, in

every event which he records, is so wonderful, that he is to be ſuſpected as having been one of thoſe great predictors, who enjoy the advantages of prophecy after the events have been realized."

According to Sir John Bowring's account, Hammond was greatly influenced by the counſels of Mr. Liſle, a native of the Iſle of Wight, and whose name is ſo well known as the regicide, afterwards aſſaſſinated at Lauſanne in Switzerland. With Liſle Bowring was alſo intimate, and telling the king, in one of his interviews, (?) that he had been known to him from childhood, he received from Charles a ſpecial charge to keep his intereſt and friendſhip with him. "It concerns me very much," ſaid his majeſty, and you may perchance do me greater service, and be better able to perform it than any friend whatſoever, so that from the time his majeſty came to the Iſle of Wight, he employed me to manage and tranſact his private and particular affairs, relying upon me in all things principally of care and hazard to himself, and which was not in the power at that time of any other perſon living to do his majeſty any good except they had a ſecret intereſt with Liſle; and this the king

underſtood very well, becauſe his majeſty knew that Hammond received his orders from Liſle in all things, by reason Hammond was otherwise a ſtranger in the iſland."

In this notable ſervice, a Dr. Cade is ſtated to have been the coadjutor of Bowring, and the perſon who conducted a ſecret correſpondence between him and the king; but it is rather ſingular, although their ſhare in the momentous events now tranſpiring was, on their own ſhowing, of a moſt prominent character, that not the ſlighteſt alluſion is made to either of theſe perſonages by other reputable chroniclers of the ſame paſſages, or by the king himſelf. They may have been men of fidelity, and have ſecured the attachment and confidence of Charles; but the entire abſence of mention of them by other authentic writers of the memoirs of their own employments, implies a ſtrong queſtion as to the veracity of their perſonal ſtatements, and undeniably caſts a ſuſpicion over their carefully paraded ingenuity, more eſpecially as, in many inſtances, the narrative to which alluſion is made is only an enlargement of that by Sir John Berkeley, and confirmatory of it.

In this ſtrange condition of bereavement and

impriſonment, the ſuffering monarch ſeemed more abandoned by fortune than his friends, whoſe attachment now exhibited a perfect unity of conduct and deciſion of purpoſe. At this critical moment, theſe energetic characters were ſternly ſtriving, as it were, with the fate they could not conquer: one of the moſt ardent being a Mrs. Whorwood, a lady who is often mentioned with great expreſſions of confidence and reſpect by the king. Intelligence of the failure of the firſt attempt at eſcape by Charles, was immediately forwarded to her by Firebrace, with injunctions to tranſmit to the iſland a ſupply of files and aquafortis "to make the paſſage more eaſy, and to help in other deſigns he propoſed*;" but in accordance with the prevailing ſuperſtition of the times, ſhe firſt enliſted the ſervices of the celebrated aſtrologer, William Lilly, who procured G. Farmer, an ingenious lockſmith in Bow-lane, London, to make a ſaw to cut the iron bars aſunder, as well as to furniſh a quantity of aquafortis in furtherance of the ſame purpoſe.

So perfect, however, were the arrangements of the ſpies in the employment of the Derby Houſe

* Firebrace's Narrative.

committee, that this procedure was at once known to them, and information ſent to Hammond* that although the aquafortis had been ſpilt by means of an accident, there was a fat plain man employed to carry the king a hacker, an inſtrument which had been made in London to convert two knives, which the king had by him, into ſaws.

The man thus despatched from London was ordered to proceed only to Portſmouth, and thence to ſend his charge by ſome fiſhermen to Newport, where, as Firebrace had left the caſtle, they were to be met by either Dowcett or Harrington, on the part of the king. By theſe meſſengers, Charles was alſo "to write back divers letters," which were to be brought to Portſmouth for conveyance to London. "If, therefore," said the committee to Hammond, "you cannot intercept theſe letters in the Iſle of Wight, if you can ſend a faithful man, confident and diſcreet, to Portſmouth, who may be there on Sunday night, and diligently obſerve and enquire for ſuch a man, who hath a horſe under him worth thirty or forty pounds (the colour we know not), and continue there till

* Letters to Hammond, April 21ſt and 22nd.

Thurſday, he will certainly find ſuch a man coming out of the town with all the king's letters, whom he is to apprehend, and you are to ſend up the ſaid letters hither with all ſecurity."

Notwithſtanding this accurate intelligence, "the hacker" was ſafely delivered; and, in ſpite of Hammond's vigilance, the meſſenger ſucceeded in conveying the letters to Dr. Frazer, at Windſor, although, from ſome information he received at Portſmouth, his retreat from thence was ſo precipitate that his piſtols and ſword were left behind him.

At this particular juncture of his affairs, Charles was continually baffled in a perfectly ſecret tranſmiſſion of his diſpatches; as, in another communication, it is ſaid "there came lately fifteen or ſixteen letters from the king, and thoſe about him, four or five whereof were read by an honeſt (?) man;" and on Mr. Mildmay's being ſent to London "with ſome letters from the governor concerning ſomething to be propounded," he was there ſeen and interrogated by Captain Titus, as to the cauſe of his diſmiſſal from Cariſbrook. Mildmay urged the contents of ſome of the king's letters as condemnatory evidence of his participation in the proceedings

which had been deviſed for effecting the king's eſcape; whereupon Titus would ſeem to have immediately accuſed his majeſty of indiſcretion in his correſpondence, as a firm denial to ſuch a charge is contained in the ſucceeding letter:—

Number III.

King Charles the Firſt to Captain Titus.

April 26th, 1648.

"W.

"I cannot be ſatisfied unleſs you doe truſt to my Diſcretion as well as Honeſty: wherfor I aſſure you that I never wrote any ſuch thing as Mr. Myldmay hath informed you of; for there is an uter impoſſibility in nature, that it could be in any of my diſpatches, but in that of the 17th of this month; for it was but the day before that I did ſo much as ſuſpect that eather you or D. (*Firebrace*) ſhould be diſmiſt; and ſince, noe letters of myne hath gone to London. Now for that diſpatch; firſt, I muſt ſay, that it is ill lucke that my wyfes letters ſhould only miſcary, for I have had anſwers to all the others, which went by that meſſenger; but indeed it might be betrayed at the Poſt Houſe; wherfor now, I muſt deſire you to believe (for

this long time I durſt keepe no copies) my memory, which I hope in ſo ſhort a tyme will not deceave me; nor would I (according to my owen ruels) be very confident of a negative but that I can prove it by an affirmative; that is to ſay, I could not be very ſure that I wrote nothing concerning 251 : 686 (*my eſcape*), if I did not remember the ſubject of that letter, for it was concerning a buſineſs wherein my wyfe deſyred my opinion; nor will I ſay but there might be a clauſe in it to this effect, that, albeit there were two confidents of myne, diſcharged my ſervice, yet I could ſtill convey Letters to her; but on my Credit, it was all in Cypher, and I am ſure I did not name F. (*Dowcett*), nor made the leaſt mention concerning any Deſyne of ours. Now, you may judge (for upon my faith I have tould you the worſt of my caſe) whether it be not more likely, that all this ſtory, of my Letter, is fained (to try your countenances, & to make the fairer pretence of diſmiſſing you) than that they have found any of your names in my letter; w^ch^ to doe, they muſt decypher my letter; but, as they tell it, I will take my oath, it is a lye: and ſo, I leave this, and come to my Buſineſs, w^ch^ is, only, to know how ſoone you will, and where

you intend to lay horſes for me; for though I cannot put you in any certaine hope that very ſhortly I ſhall uſe them, yet it were a pity to looſe an oportunity heere for want of preparation beyond the water; and we are hammering upon a way (as D. (*Firebrace*) will more particularly informe you) w^ch^ if it hit, we ſhall be ſooner ready, than, it may be, you can imagine. I have now no more to ſay but to deſyre you to let me hear from you as ſoon as you may, how you are ſatisfied with the firſt part of this Letter, and how ſoone you can comply with the later: ſo I reſt.

"Your moſt aſſured conſtant friend,

"J."

"You had this letter encloſed
before now, but you were gone
before it could come to you; it came
to me from London amongſt my letters."

Confident as is the king's expreſſion on the impoſſibility of his having committed this overſight, it is queſtionable if ſome ſuch obſervation was not contained in one of the letters read by the "honeſt man," as in the intimation from the committee to Hammond on the ſubject,

they ſay, "the king writes that, although Firebrace and Titus be diſcovered, yet Dowcett is true to him, and will do the deed."

The failure of the firſt attempt at eſcape, from his majeſty's perſonal reliance of ſucceſs in the part he himſelf had to perform, cauſed his adherents carefully to ſcrutinize the various expedients adopted for overcoming the additional impediments they would have to encounter in the renewed endeavour, and deviſe a courſe of united action commenſurate with the obſtacles to be ſurmounted.

With the acquieſcence of Captain Titus, Firebrace, and Mrs. Whorwood, in London, Mr. Worſley and Mr. Newland in the Iſle of Wight, and Oſborn and Dowcett within the walls of the caſtle, the preliminaries were deſigned as follows. His majeſty, ſuppoſing him ſafely emerged from his chamber window, deſcribed as the height of a flight of ſtairs from the ground (by meaſurement it proves to be ten feet) was to proceed acroſs the bowling-green to the counterſcarp of the caſtle, which he was to deſcend, and be then received by Mr. Worſley and Oſborn, as under the former arrangements. Mr. Newland was to be again in waiting with the boat, which,

having reached, they were at once to croſs the channel to the coaſt of Hampſhire, where horſes were intended to be in readineſs, with relays to convey him to the reſidence of Sir Edward Alford, near Arundel, in Suſſex. From Arundel he was again to journey on horſeback to Queenborough, in Suffolk, where a ſhip was prepared to tranſport him to Holland as the moſt favourable temporary place of ſafety.

The opinions of Charles reſpecting his perſonal movements, in the uncertain reſolve before him, were, however, ſtill unſettled; for in ſuch a poſition, trivial incidents became worthy the moſt weighty conſideration, and his former want of ſucceſs naturally urged him to balance in his mind every oppoſite influence that attached itſelf to the ſcheme, in the hope of being enabled to reject ſuch propoſitions as offered the ſmalleſt chance of fatally affecting the conſummation of the plan.

The king was now lodged in the houſe of the chief officer, and the opinion formed by Hammond of the additional ſecurity afforded by ſuch a procedure was correctly eſtimated; for the image of fallen majeſty excited neither generous emotion nor any deſire to alleviate his condition

in the eyes of this unſcrupulous Parliamentarian, as, in addition to other obſervances, he alſo aſſumed the office of ſentinel over the royal perſon, a fact of which ſpeedy intimation was conveyed by Charles to Captain Titus.

Number IV.

"W.

"Since the chiefe officer alwais ſits at the preſence-door, you have reaſon to differ with me in opinion as you doe.

"I pray you remember to leave verry plaine and full informations with L. (*Oſborn*), and F. (*Dowcett*), and particularly how to keepe intelligence with our friends at London.*

"J."

This perſonage, the chief officer, was ſubordinate to Hammond, but he looked with an eye of jealousy on his poſition. Originally a ſhoemaker in Weſtminſter, he was now a major in the Parliamentarian army, recently promoted from a captaincy, and of the name of Rolph. Lord Clarendon ſtates, he was placed at Cariſbrook by Cromwell "as a prime confidant: a fellow of

* This letter, although not in its proper order, is here introduced as corroborative of the foregoing remark.

low extraction and very ordinary parts, who, from a common ſoldier, had been intruſted in all the intrigues of the army, and was one of the agitators inſpired by Cromwell to put anything into the ſoldiers' minds, upon whom he had a wonderful influence, and could not contain himſelf from ſpeaking maliciouſly and wickedly againſt the king, when diſſimulation was at the higheſt among the officers." Conſequently every precaution which military diſcipline could exerciſe, or the antagoniſtic malevolence of his dark and ſubtle mind imagine, was quickly enliſted by him in the hope of his being enabled to render abortive the contrivances for the king's eſcape, which it was well known were being vigorouſly diſpoſed preparatory to the advent of a ſuitable opportunity for making them available.

Still every preparation went bravely and confidingly on, and both the king and his friends implicitly believed in the impoſſibility of a failure in the meaſures they were daily perfecting—fruitleſs expectation! vain reliance! for all their hopes were deſtined to be again reverſed, and the monarch for whom they were ſtriving, reduced to the loweſt ebb of his fortunes. At this moment repeated communications from

Derby Houſe diſcloſed a perfect knowledge of the projects which were gradually approaching maturity, and Hammond neceſſarily held the game in his own hands.

At the latter end of the month of April, the committee wrote, "The time aſſigned is May-day, at night, for the king's eſcape; but it may be ſooner if opportunity ſerves." And on the 4th of May, "there is an intention to get the king away to-morrow night or Thurſday morn; for Sunday a ſhip is fallen down from hence to Queenborough, whereabout ſhe rides to waft him to Holland. Mrs. Whorwood is aboard the ſhip, a tall, well-faſhioned, and well-languaged gentlewoman, with a round viſage, and pock-holes in her face; ſhe ſtays to wait upon the king. A merchant is gone from this town laſt night, or early this morning, to acquaint the king that all things are ready; four horſes lie in or near Portſmouth, to carry the king by or near Arundel, and from thence to Queenborough. A Parliament man, or one that was one, who liveth near Arundel, is to be the king's guide. The man is ſuppoſed to be Sir Edward Alford. The merchant that is come down to the king is a lean, ſpare young man. The place by which

the king is to eſcape, is a low room, through a window that is but ſlightly made up. He hath one or two about him that are falſe. Have a ſpecial care of the king's bowling, which is the next plot. If this be prevented, they will then have a ladder ſet up to the wall againſt the bowling-alley, and horſes and a boat ready, and try that way.

"The party that gives this intelligence ſaw lately a letter of the king's own hand, wherein he extreamly bemoans his condition, and reſolves to attempt by all means to free himſelf from it."

By this extract it will be comprehenſively ſeen how inſurmountable were the obſtacles oppoſed to a ſatisfactory termination of the ingenious exertions and genuine devotion of thoſe who, notwithſtanding the perils which attended all their movements, were ſeeking to ſerve the royal captive. Perſonal dangers were unthought of and unheeded; and Firebrace even went ſurreptitiouſly to the Iſle of Wight, for the purpoſe of effecting a renewed interchange of correſpondence with the king, maturing the diſpoſitions already made, and tranſmitting to Titus full intelligence of his proceedings.

In this moſt difficult and dangerous poſition of Firebrace, and during his ſhort ſtay, his endeavours to effect the ſucceſs of his miſſion without detection were of a deep and trying nature, as he did not omit availing himſelf of the ſlighteſt chance that the bounds of probability preſented for accelerating the conſummation of his deſires. Whilſt he ſojourned in the iſland, a propoſal, which apparently then offered itſelf, was ſubmitted to the king for adopting another means of gaining his freedom; and on referring to the infallible authority, the miſſives from Derby Houſe, it is found that "the fellow of the backſtairs," mentioned by Charles, was the porter, "who uſeth to carry up coals for the king's chamber, preſently after dinner and ſupper: he is to carry the king a diſguiſe, which he is to put on, and alſo the porter's frock, and to lock the porter into his chamber, and come down himſelf whilſt the ſervants are at ſupper, and ſo paſs away."

A ſlight difference of opinion ſeems to have pervaded the counſels of the king's friends reſpecting his ultimate deſtination; and in the mind of Titus a ſuſpicion aroſe reſpecting the integrity of ſome perſon or perſons cogniſant of

their intentions. The objections he raiſed were refuted by Charles, although by a letter to Firebrace it ſeems the king perſonally entertained a doubt of the probity of Lowe the merchant. "If any does betray me, it muſt be O. (*Lowe*); yet he bragged to me in his laſt letter, that he furniſhed the Duke of York with a hundred and fifty pounds for his journey; but the truth is, that N. (*Mrs. Whorwood*), for whoſe fidelity I will anſwer, doth ſuſpect him, and in the laſt packet hath given me warning of him: do not diſhearten him; get what money you can of him, but do not truſt him.

"It was not I that acquainted him with the greater buſineſs (*the contemplated eſcape*), for I found his name at the joint-letter you ſent me before ever I imagined he knew any ſuch thing. I never wrote anything of moment to him, but only made uſe of him for the conveyance of letters, and ſending me news." Similar is the admonition to Titus: "I do not deſire that A. (*Creſſet*), or O. (*Lowe*), ſhould any more meddle in it, though I believe they mean well."

On the peruſal of theſe remarks, the firſt impulſe of thought naturally ſuggeſts Lowe as having been the arch-traitor by whom the Derby

Houſe committee were furniſhed with their too truthful intelligence; but other conſiderations, eſpecially the language of the committee themſelves, when alluding to him, render it evident that although he may have been guilty of indiſcretion, he cannot be charged with the treaſonable and diſcreditable conduct for which the Lady Carliſle was probably alone anſwerable.

At the commencement of the month of May, Firebrace being entruſted with ſome other important ſervice, Titus betook himſelf to Southampton, where he reſided in the houſe of a Mrs. Pitt, and on the 16th of that month was viſited by Mr. Worſley,* in order that they might conſult on the points which at this juncture ſeemed moſt to concern his majeſty, "where he ſhould take boat, where land, and the importance of a paſſword." Mr. Worſley received from the king the additional care of conveying a letter to Titus,† which it is not improbable was that numbered XI. in this ſeries, or that the others which immediately follow were afterwards tranſmitted to him through the ſame medium.

* The king's letter to Worſley.

† Worſley's "Hiſtory of the Iſle of Wight"

Number V.

King Charles to Captain Titus.

Without date.

" W.

" I will ſend you my cheefe inſtrument by D. (*Firebrace*), and I deſyre you to make good tryals and giue me good inſtructions, for I know not how fyling can be, without much noiſe and tyme; but if you can cleare this doute, I abſolutely conceaue this to be the beſt way: yet D.'s (*Firebrace*) new way is not to be rejected; and may be tryed (as I ſuppoſe) without much danger, that is to ſay: make this fellow of the Backſtaires try how he can conduct his friends in & out at that tyme of night, without ſtrict examination of the Gards: in a word: you that walk abroad freely can much better judge of the feſibilitie of this, then I: wherefor, ſeriously I remitt myſelf to your judjement herein: only with this opinion; that the eaſie or difficult remouing of the barr will caſt the ſcales, in my judjement, betwixt the two wayſe.

" Now concerning the place Whether? I know you ſay true that many of my frends thinke London the fitteſt place & particularly

A. (*Creſſet*), and Q. (*Lowe*), but I am clearely of your mynde; wherfore I earneſtly & particularly recomend the prouyding of a Ship, to your care; for really (upon the joynt Letter you ſent me from London) I haue diſcharged the coreſpondent, I tould you that I had, beyond the Water.

"If your Diſmiſſion ſtood upon me, it ſhould not be in haſte; but in earneſt, it would be well if you might ſtay till Monday or Teuſday, for ajuſting all things the better.

"No Cipher of myne hath miſcaried, for I ſent but one ſince I came hither & that I am ſure was receaued.

"I have now no more to ſay, but I pray you haue more aſſeurance then bare confidence for hauing a ſhip readdy:

"J."

Number VI.

King Charles to Captain Titus.

Without date.

"W.

"before I anſwer yours I muſt deſyre you to let me know to whom you have lent your

Cypher; for if you have not, a Copie of it hath bine ſtolne from you, as by theaſe incloſed Notes you will fynde: Now to anſwer yours in your owen order.

"As for 715 (*Mrs. Whorwood*) I beliue you are not miſtaken; for I am confident ſhe will not deceaue your truſt: I think 457 (*Lady Carliſle*) wiſhes now well to me but I beliue ſhe loves 546, 493 aboue all things: for 714 (*Dr. Fraizer*) I hope he is honneſt but I have not had much experience of him: for L. (*Oſborne*) I fully concur with you both for thoſe things that are to be left & how to comunicat buſineſs to him; wherfor I will impart nothing of theaſe things to him, untill you ſend him to me about them, or that you be gone. As for W. (*Titus* himſelf) I aſſure you that I am moſt confident in his faithfullneſs, circumſpection and diligence: you bid 715 (*Mrs. Whorwood*) be confident, that I am no wais diſguſted with anything that I heard concerning her. Be confident if an underhand Treaty be offerd me, I ſhall make no other uſe of it, but ſuch as my frends ſhall be glad on: and cheefly to the end you mention. As for Mr. Myldmays inſormation concerning what I ſhould ſay of my Childrens intertainment, my

Anſwer is "Cujus Contrarium verum eſt:" & a Gods name ſay it in my name: for the other, I am confident that no Sonday ſince I came heere (except the laſt) I read on any ſuch Booke as Argenis,* so that certainly the information was then falſe.

"Since D. (*Firebrace*) muſt be gone, will it not be neceſſarie that F. (*Dowcett*) be particularly acquainted with all things? for I aſſeure you that I will communicat it to none but thoſe whom you thinke fitt. I haue now no more to say: but I pray you ajuſt particulars as ſoone as you can: and give me an account of it as ſoon as you may:

"J."

"Comend me hartily to 457 (*Lady Carliſle*) with as many other ciuilities or thanks as you ſhall thinke fitt.

"I pray you decypher this incloſed Note, for I would not doe it though I begun it, becauſe I thinke it a Rogery: I ſend you all that came with it."

* This was a work which went through several editions in Latin, and was afterwards (1636) tranſlated into Engliſh; it was entitled "Barclay, his Argenis, or the Loves of Polyarchus and Argenis."

Number VII.

King Charles to Captain Titus.

Without date.

"W.

"Since your ſtay is ſo ſhort heere you muſt excuſe me though I importune you with papers hauing little to ſay: Amongſt other particulars I pray you thinke w^ch^ way I ſhall remoue the Bar out of my Window without noiſe and unperceaued, and what tyme it will take me to doe it.

"I am glad that you will acquaint F. (*Dowcett*) with particulars; for ſince D. (*Firebrace*) muſt depart I think it abſolutly neceſſary: but I doe not deſyre that A. or O. (*Creſſet* or *Lowe*) ſhould any more medle in it: though I beliue they meane well, yet let us not looſe theire correſpondence. If you hit in this new way, conſider if the tyme of night would not be alterd; for I beliue you will now fynde that I muſt firſt goe to Bed, before I offer to goe away: but I refer it to your judjement.

"J."

"Trye what you may doe to ſtay till Monday: & forgett not to giue me an account of your meeting as ſoone as you can."

Number VIII.

King Charles to Captain Titus.

Without date.

"W.

"I haue been conſidering the Bar of my Window & fynde that I muſt cut it in two places; for that place where I muſt cut it aboue, I can hyde it with the leade that tyes the Glaſſe; but there is nothing that can hyde the lower part: wherfor, I conceaue it cannot but be diſcouered, if I leaue it off, when I have once begune it: and how to make but one labour of it, I cannot yet conceaue: but if I had a forcer, I could make my way well anufe; or if you could teache me how to make the fyre-ſhouell & tongues ſupply that place, w^ch^ I beliue not impoſſible.

"Of this (I meane how to remoue the Bar) I deſyre to be reſolued before you goe; wherefor I pray you giue me an anſwer to this as ſoone as you can, for I beliue our maine Buſineſs depends much upon it.

"J."

"I pray you 577: 359: 117: 343: 279: 20: 356: (*to be sure of a ſhip*)."

Number IX.
King Charles to Captain Titus.
Without date.

"W.

"The difficultie of remouing the Bar, hath made my thoughts runne much upon the later Deſigne: it is this: ſince for my goeing out at Window, it is neceſſary that an Officer or two ſhould be gained, will not they as willingly & may they not more eaſily, helpe me out at the Dores?

"And truly in my judgement there can be nothing of leſſe hazard then this laſt Deſygne, if any one Officer can be ingaged in it; for then my Diſgyſe will make me paſſe ſafly through all the Guards, wherefore I pray you thinke well upon it, for I am moſt confident that I am in the right, yet for Gods ſake make your objections freely to what I haue ſaid; or, if you do not underſtand me tell me in what, & I hope that I ſhall ſatisfie you; howeuer I pray you lett me haue your Opinion of this, as ſoone as you may, whether it be Pro or Con: if this Deſygne be reſolued on, we need not ſtay for Dark Nights. "J."

"I am extreamly wel ſatisfied with the later part of your Paper."

Number X.

King Charles to Captain Titus.

Without date.

"W.

"This being a Buſineſs of Action & not of words, I will be verrie brife, & I were much too blame, if I were otherwais; for really (to my judgement) it is ſo well layed, that I haue but one particular to make a Quere upon (after thryce reading over your paper) w^ch^ is, whether I ſhall haue tyme anufe after I haue Supt & before I goe to Bed, to remoue the Bar: for if I had a Forecer, I would make no queſtion of it; but hauing nothing but fyles I much dout that my time be too ſcant; wherefore I deſyre to be well inſtructed in it: w^ch^ being ajuſted I know nothing to be mended in your Paper. But you know, there muſt be "Terminus ad quem," as well as "Terminus a quo;" therfore I deſyre to know, whether you intend that I ſhould goe after I am ouer the Water?

"J."

"I desyre you to Anſwer this Paper as ſoon as you can.

"Hencefoorth I will goe early to Bed."

Number XI.

King Charles to Captain Titus.

665 : 637 : 643 : 279 : 672 : *(Sunday 14th of May).*

" W.

" Yeſterday I receaued fower letters from you with a great number of others from diuers of my friends as 634 : 169 : 251 : 680 : 636 : 169 : 457 : (*one from my wife and from Lady Carliſle*) as many from 715 (*Mrs. Whorwood*) : the lyke nomber from both A. and O. (*Creſſet and Lowe*) beſydes a great bundle from 714 *and* 708 (*Dr. Fraizer and Col. Legge*), alſo fower from D. (*Firebrace*) and one from T : this I giue you an account of because not hauing tyme now to write to any of theaſe my friends I deſyre you make my excuſe to them, & lett them know that I have receaued all theire letters : now as to your Anſwer : all that I have to ſay to yours of the firſt of this Month, is, that as I ſee that you are well ſatisfied with me, ſo I am with you, (for thoſe two of the 12th, that w^ch^ is out of Cypher I know not what you meane by it ; but I thanke you for the Aduice you giue me in the other. 739 : 209 : 165 : 363 : 284 :

478 : (104 : 359 : 361 : 302 :) 263 : 117 : 106 : 78 : 91 : 318 : 67 : (*though I finde that our deſign* [*as to this place*] *muſt be alltered*). Now as to that of the 9th, my Anſwer is, that 158 : 251 : 60 : 108 : 210 : 302 : 420 : 263 : 20 : 7 : 10 : 212 : 78 : 210 : 230 : 411 : 420 : 108 : Z : 263 : 79 : 144 : 250 : 404 : 209 : 349 : 80 : 21 : 41 : 92 : 705 : (*for my landing place you muſt apoint it, likewiſe You and Worſley muſt tell me where I ſhall take boate*). I can write no more concerning 251 : 686 : (*my eſcape*) untill I haue conſulted with L : (*Oſborne*) : in the mean tyme I muſt tell you that now I can aſſeure you that no letter of myne hath miſcarried, for I haue had an Anſwer of that from 251 : 680 : (*my wife*) w^ch^ I ſuſpected, there being no other in poſſibiletie of doeing harme. 660 : 639 : 643 :* before this morning I could not ſpeak with L. (*Oſborne*), w^ch^ hath giuen me tyme to write theaſe two incloſed ; that ſuperſcribed in french is to 251 : 680 : (*my wife*) the other to 715 : (*Mrs. Whorwood*) ; this laſt I thought fitt to write to encourage and thanke 187 (*her*), becauſe I fynde that 63 : 14 : 91 : 90 :

* Blanks are oftentimes inſerted by the king for the purpoſe of rendering the deciphering ſtill more difficult by thoſe unacquainted with the cipher.

194 : 437 : 143 : 420 : 212 : 571 : 216 : 360 : 356 : (*ſhe hath aſſiſted you in providing the ſhip*). Now as for 284 : 184 : 453 : 200 : 209 : 479 : 420 : 359 : 117 : 38 : 212 : 359 : 53 : 20 : 210 : 158 : 250 : 281 : 659 : 274 : 108 : 335 : 112 : 151 : 46 : 275 : 79 : 158 : 22 : 651 : 359 : 39 : 92 : 360 : 50 : 29 : 117 : 131 : 634 : 275 : 80 : 253 : 164 : 108 : 102 : 289 : 14 : 210 : 202 : 210 : 117 : 216 : 35 : 10 : 78 : 15 : 608 : 637 : 108 : 483 : 11 : 382 : 359 : 340 : 279 : 643 : 359 : 420 : (*our great buſineſs, I deſire you to begin to waite for me on Monday next and ſo after, every night for a weeke together, becauſe one night may faill and accompliſh it, and it being both troublesome and dangerous to send off word to you*); and for the 371 : 203 : 420 : 263 : 226 : 363 : 210 : 211 : 251 : 96 : 16 : 103 : 36 : 93 : 51 : 392 : 135 : 118 : 405 : 209 : 263 : 137 : 340 : 360 : 289 : 117 : 216 : 335 : 54 : 23 : 97 : 16 : 143 : 363 : 210 : 126 : 270 : 117 : 98 : 31 : 78 : 404 : 158 : 209 : 263 : 631 : 177 : 359 : 35 : 143 : 335 : 363 : 251 : 371 : 279 : 128 : 216 : 169 : 251 : 99 : 15 : 103 : 36 : 94 : 52 : 399 : 117 : 115 : 644 : 105 : 275 : 78 : 200 : (*time here, you muſt know that it is my chamber window on which I muſt deſcend, the other being ſo wached that it cannot be cut,*

wherfor I muſt firſt to bed so that my time of coming from my chamber may be about eleven at night): for the reſt 420: 401: Z: 263: 128: 296: 91: 89: 16: 282: 344: 209: 126: 117: 401: 420: (*you with Worſley muſt compute how soone I can be with you*). This is as much as for the preſent I can ſay concerning 251: 686: (*my eſcape*), and I hope ſuch as will giue you reaſonable good ſatisfaction: but I deſyre you to ſend me ſpeedie word if any thing that I have writen be obſcure, or not full to what you deſyre to know; alſo 404: 209: 349: 78: 23: 41: 705: 108: 404: 531: 200: 230: 411: 420: 263: 182: 250: 20: 2: 53: 280: 67: 363: 209: 253: 226: 251: 174: 63: 212: 360: 141: 42: 92: (*where I ſhall take boate and where lande, likewiſe you muſt give me a paſſe word that I may know my friends in the darke*). And now I have no more to ſay but what I cannot ſay according to my mynde, w^eh^ is to expreſs my ſatisfaction & thankes to you, for what you haue done for me in this Buſineſs; only this, you ſhall fynde me really,

"Your moſt aſſeured conſtant frend,

"J."

"You muſt remember to 231 : 198 : 64 : 335 : 363 : 209 : 253 : 264 : 269 : 65 : 80 : 21 : 46 : 117 : 78 : 54 : 212 : 251 : 531 : 216 : 108 : 315 : 35 : 280 : 11 : 33 : 40 : 16 : 24 : (*leave horſes ſo that I may have no ſtay between my landing and Queenborough*)."

Number XII.

King Charles to Captain Titus.

659 : 647 : 635 : 672 : (*Monday twenty-two May*).

"W.

"Yeſterday & not before I receaued three of your letters, in Anſwer to which firſt I aſſeure you that 367 : 211 : 269 : 338 : 377 : 104 : 109 : 375 : 117 : 78 : 53 : 91 : 94 : 71 : 92 : 689 : 108 : 250 : 280 : 109 : 377 : 230 : 210 : 200 : 108 : 209 : 399 : 389 : 93 : 50 : 251 : 232 : 213 : 209 : 193 : 20 : 656 : 363 : 360 : 136 : 133 : 127 : 96 : 94 : 51 : 72 : 216 : 541 : 97 : 281 : 108 : 251 : 680 : 211 : 21 : [illegible] : 67 : 103 : 73 : 113 : 228 : 91 : 158 : 106 : 187 : 532 : 63 : 359 : 250 : (*there is no ſuch thing as any tiff between him and me or anything like it, and I will offer my life if I had a chance that*

the diſcourſe concerning Con and my wife is a damned lye, for all he ſays to me*) ever ſince I came hither 397 : 218 : 359 : 360 : 127 : 79 : 52 : 22 : 50 : 46 : 2 : 65 : 152 : 201 : 108 : (*was juſt to the contrary paſſe, and*) I deſyre you to aſſure all my frends in my name that all this is punctually true, & in particular to 457 (*Lady Carliſle*) : & that if (as you haue ſaid) 367 : 349 : 117 : 109 : 564 : 254 : 91 : 250 : 118 : 360 : 512 : 298 : 209 : 399 : 281 : 228 : 264 : 382 : 92 : 279 : 210 : 212 : 557 : 359 : 251 : 686 : (*there ſhall be any Treaty made me by the Parliament party I would only have uſe of it in order to my eſcape*); alſo take notice in my name to 457 : 279 : 360 : 181 : 599 : 546 : 493 : 140 : 250 : 212 : 360 : 505 : (*Lady Carliſle of the good ſervice done me in the affair*), & excuſe me to 187 (*her*) that now I doe not write my ſelfe, for indeed I haue no tyme.

"As you have aduiſed, 662 : 274 : 399 : 117 : 360 : 631 : 275 : 80 : 363 : 209 : 349 : 430 : 359 : 686 : 90 : (*Wedneſday next may be the night I ſhall endeavour to eſcape*); but I deſyre you (if it

* Con was a Scotchman who was afterwards ſucceeded by Roſetti, an Italian. He reſided openly in London, and frequented the Court as veſted with a commiſſion from the Pope. The queen's zeal, and her authority with her huſband, was the cauſe for a time of this imprudence so offenſive to the nation.

be poſſible) 117 : 158 : 93 : 364 : 359 : 104 : 343 : 250 : 363 : 420 : 399 : 117 : 50 : 143 : 67 : 47 : 118 : 363 : 275 : 78 : 108 : 340 : 250 : 3 : 23 : 4 : 55 : 280 : 68 : (*before then to aſſeure me that you will be reddy on that night, and ſend me a paſſe word*) w^ch^ yet you have not done. I have now no more to ſay, but that I hope you will remember 359 : 557 : 377 : 63 : 335 : 363 : 209 : 349 : 264 : 269 : 64 : 78 : 10 : 7 : 381 : 80 : 215 : 209 : 128 : 359 : 360 : 356 : (*to order things ſo that I ſhall need no ſtop until I go to the ſhip*), ſo I reſt,

"Your moſt aſſeured conſtant frend,

"J."

"I thought it neceſſary to wryte this to 715 : 363 : 209 : 63 : 78 : 20 : 46 : 270 : 158 : 360 : 356 : (*Mrs. Whorwood, that I ſtay not for the ſhip*), therefor I pray you ſend it ſpeedily to 187 (*her*)."

Number XIII.

King Charles to Captain Titus.

662 : 647 : 638 : 672 : (*Wedneſday twenty-four May.*)

" W.

" Yours of yeſterdayes Date I have receaued this afternoone, w^ch^, though ſhort, gaue me much ſatisfaction; & to w^ch^ my Anſwer is, that 118 : 360 : 185 : 279 : 176 : 209 : 349 : 376 : 359 : 686 : 383 : 281 : 665 : 275 : 78 : 274 : 200 : (*by the help of fate I ſhall try to eſcape upon Sunday night next*). The cauſe why 391 : 132 : 270 : 135 : 91 : 210 : 361 : 275 : 79 : 211 : 117 : 131 : 360 : 133 : 279 : 360 : 38 : 31 : 107 : 67 : 63 : 107 : 106 : 80 : 92 : 50 : 67 : 158 : 284 : 255 : 193 : 210 : 427 : 335 : 363 : 367 : 78 : 32 : 51 : 71 : 93 : 128 : 65 : 116 : 281 : 665 : 275 : 79 : 274 : 201 : 271 : 359 : 360 : 149 : 363 : 715 : 253 : 53 : 20 : 210 : 158 : 250 : 401 : 104 : 257 : (*we could not doe it this night is, becauſe the courſe of the guards are altered, for our men have it ſettled, ſo that their turn comes but on Sunday night next; and to the end that Mrs. Whorwood may wait for me with as much*) patience, 104 : 209 : 226 : 420 : 399 : 209 : 379 : 80 : 210 : 159 : 359 : 413 : (*as I*

know you would, I thought it fit to write) this encloſed, w^ch^ I pray you ſend ſpeedely to 187 : 202 (*her hand.*) So I reſt,

"Your moſt aſſeured conſtant frend,

"J."

"I deſyre, for my ſatisfaction and encouragement, that you will ſend me word that you have receaued this as ſoone as you can."

Charles has moralized on his own hiſtory; and he who has read the illuſtration, will eaſily comprehend the character of the "captive of Cariſbrook," as it has been expreſſed by his commentator, "a character only changed by new acquirements, or modified by protracted adverſities and contemplative experience;" but he who peruſes the foregoing letters, and in meditating over them reflects likewiſe on the critical ſituation of the unfortunate writer, will not only eaſily perceive how adverſity had ſoftened the ſeverity of his manners, but will alſo forget the errors of his calamitous reign in the ſelf-drawn picture of the humiliative doubts and fears of the ſubdued and chaſtened monarch.

Many affecting circumſtances ariſing out of the peculiarity of his diſtreſſes, reveal the man of ſorrows; whilſt the prompt ſagacity of the king, and the perſpicuity of ſtyle in a correſpondence which muſt have been written in ſecrecy and haſte, are no mean proofs of the mental ability of Charles; an ability, ſays Diſraeli, that has been always greatly undervalued.

But whilſt this correſpondence was being carried on with ſingular and undaunted perſeverance, both by the king and his friends, and the perilous enterpriſe it was its purpoſe to advance ſtill further facilitated, there were alſo many humble expedients and artifices to hold intercourſe with Charles, adopted by leſs conſpicuous perſonages than his more energetic confidants.

On the 22nd May, Hammond informed the committee of Lords and Commons "that laſt night there came hither one Job Weale, a phyſician, as he calls himſelf, living at Kingſton-upon-Thames. He came hither upon poſt-horſes, pretending to come in great haſte from my lord-general, employed by him to me upon buſineſs of higheſt concernment. He counterfeited himſelf at firſt in a fainting fit, by reaſon

of hard riding to me, and that he could not declare his buſineſs until he had drank ſome hot waters to recover his ſpirits: which preamble being ill managed to his buſineſs, made me ſuſpect him to be a knave, as I afterwards more plainly found him.

"So ſoon as he feigned to come to himſelf he began to tell me that his buſineſs imported the ſafety of my life, and that which was dearer to me, the great charge in my hands, the ſecurity of the perſon of the king; and to that end I ſhould immediately remove the king to Portſmouth, to Major Lobb, to whom he had directions to receive him. That otherwiſe the king would be violently taken hence the next morning by four o'clock, and myſelf a dead man. For to his knowledge the deſign was in hand, and it was thus—that there was a fleet of ſhips at ſea near this coaſt that were to come in between the iſland and the lee-ſhore that evening, who were to land in the night, and that great numbers were to come out of the mainland, pretending occaſion at a fair which was to be kept at Newport on the morrow, who ſhould aſſiſt them, and at the ſame time all the beacons in the iſland were to be ſet on fire, and to raiſe

the country for the king: and if not, to amaze them with fear, that ſo they might the better carry on their deſign, which there was no way to avoid but as he had given me direction. When he had concluded his tale, I enquired of him whether he had anything in writing to confirm it. He told me that his inſtructions to me were entruſted to him to communicate only by word of mouth; but he had inſtructions in writing quilted up in his waiſtcoat for Major Lobb. I deſired him to let me ſee them. He told me his order was only to communicate them to Major Lobb. I told him I muſt ſee them. He refuſing, I told him I apprehended he had other buſineſs here, and if he would not immediately let me know it, I muſt take another courſe with him. Whereupon I cauſed him to be ſtrictly ſearched, and found only theſe papers about him. That letter from him without ſuperſcription or direction he ſaith was to my Lord Dover.* The reſt, petitions, and ſome notes of inſtructions of his own. When he found his idle plot would

* The letter to Lord Dover concluded thus:—"Your lordſhip's friend and ſervant to command for my country's good. And the word is an anagram of my name, 'Obey Lawe.'

"JOB WEALE."

not take, and that he was diſcovered, he told me he would deal ingenuouſly with me, and would tell me truly his buſineſs was principally by this means to gain an intereſt with me, that he might ſpeak with the king to procure leave from him that the county of Surrey (from whom he was ſent for that purpoſe) might have his majeſty's approbation to chooſe a commander-in-chief under whom to put their county in a poſture of defence. Upon his way he ſtopped a poſt going from Portſmouth to London with this encloſed packet, which, if your lordſhip pleaſe, may be ſpeedily delivered, being about victual for the navy."

The urgency of the preſent moment rendered all concerned anxious to conclude without delay the difficult proceeding which it was hoped would once more give Charles freedom and ſafety; and as the ſelection of time and opportunity now reſted ſolely with the king, his adherents remained with unſhrinking patience, in nightly expectation of favourable circumſtances enabling him to act on the well-arranged plan.

Conſequently, as nights as dark as the ſeaſon of the year would allow had again ſet in, it was decided by his majeſty, every preparation

being fully perfected, that the attempt ſhould be made on Sunday, the 28th of May. On the evening of that day he therefore betook himſelf early to his chamber, and in the ſtillneſs of midnight, having already ſtealthily cut the former fatal impediment to his flight, determined to paſs through the window; but noticing more perſons under it than he expected to be in waiting, and perceiving the abſence of him on whom he principally depended, his ſuſpicions became excited, and, in the belief that his intentions were diſcovered, he cloſed the caſement and retired.

Fate had arrayed itſelf againſt him, and his brief ray of hope was again doomed to diſappointment.

What the effect would have been, had a contrary reſult enſued, none but the Seer of all hearts can tell. There might have ſucceeded years of peace and uſefulneſs, or of even ſtill greater terror and fatal retroſpection than thoſe which followed. That there were faults in the government of Charles, and that injuſtice at one time ſtained the royal cauſe, none can deny. The demerits of the man are, however, forgotten in his adverſity, and it is therefore equally felt that

much poiſon was mixed in his cup of life, and that his lot was caſt in an evil time.

On the 2nd of June a letter was received from Hammond by the Speakers of both Houſes of Parliament, containing full details of the king's intent, as well as a relation of the ſteps which had been adopted to thwart the deſign. Having been entered in the journals of the Houſe of Lords, this communication is fortunately ſtill preſerved. The governor wrote as follows:—

"To the Right Hon. the Earl of Mancheſter, Speaker of the Houſe of Peers, *pro. tem.*, this preſent.

"My Lords,

"As an account of the great truſt your lordſhips have been pleaſed to repoſe in me, I take the boldneſs to acquaint your lordſhips of a deſign cunningly laid, and carried on almoſt to perfection, for the king's eſcape from this place, which was the laſt night (being the ſet time for putting it in act), by the bleſſing and goodneſs of God prevented. It was thus: Through the corruption and naughtineſs of two gentlemen attending the king, Mr. Osborn and Mr.

Dowcett, three ſoldiers were ſuborned and dealt with, to aſſiſt in this eſcape, who were to be on duty at the king's window at the time appointed. Mr. Dowcett, who was to be accommodated with cords, to convey him down the caſtle wall, and then the outline, after he had let himſelf down through his window to the prepared ſentinels, was to be his guide to his horſes, which were ready provided, and laid at a convenient place within muſket-ſhot of the works; and *Mr. Oſborn* and one *Mr. Worsley, of Gatcomb*, a young gentleman of this iſland, who were to conduct him to a creek, where alſo at the ſame time lay ready a boat to tranſport them to the mainland, to a place where (as is confeſſed by one whom I have apprehended) there were horſes to convey the king whither he pleaſed. This deſign hath been long in hand, but kept from me until yeſterday, when two of the ſoldiers who had been dealt with came to me, and acquainted me with the whole buſineſs (which I am confident, though I had had no knowledge of it, they would have found ſome difficulty in effecting). I ſuffered and adviſed them to carry it on, as if I had not known it, that ſo I might the better diſcover the whole buſineſs with the

leſs pretence of excuſe to thoſe unworthy men who were to aſſiſt the king in this eſcape. But being over-curious in ſecuring all places in more exact manner than formerly, Mr. Dowcett, by happening upon an unuſual guard, who at the firſt apprehended them to be of his own party, but upon examination finding other anſwer than he expected, made a diſcovery: which, ſo ſoon as I underſtood, immediately I ſecured Dowcett and a ſoldier who was the chief inſtrument in this deſign. Then I ſent after Oſborn and Worſley, to apprehend them; but they, finding they were diſcovered, fled in great haſte to the waterſide, where their boat lay ready to receive them; whither they were purſued; but they, it ſeems, being in haſte, quitted their horſes and turned them looſe upon the ſhore, and themſelves eſcaped in the boat. I have ſince apprehended one John Newland, of Newport, whoſe part it was in the deſign to act the buſineſs concerning the boats. This morning I find the window-bar of the king's bedchamber, looking to the ſentinels appointed, to be cut in two in the middle with aquafortis. By this your lordſhips may pleaſe to ſee not only the dangers paſt, but may alſo expect that nothing will be unattempted that the

art of man can find out to perfect the king's eſcape," &c. &c.

"ROBERT HAMMOND.

"Cariſbrook Caſtle,
May 29th, 1648."

After this letter had been read in the Houſe of Commons, it was ordered that 100*l.* ſhould be ſent to Hammond, "to diſpoſe of ſuch part thereof as he ſhall think fit to ſuch perſons as made the diſcovery of the deſign for the king's eſcape, for their good ſervice therein, and the reſt to ſuch other perſons as ſhall hereafter do the like good ſervice;*" whilſt Dowcett and the other two perſons under reſtraint "for contriving and deſigning the king's eſcape," were deſired to be ſent to London in ſafe cuſtody.

The conjecture that Oſborn and Worſley had eſcaped to the boat was, however, erroneous; as, by a ſhort MS. account drawn up by Mr. Worſley himſelf, it appears that, in riding off from the caſtle, they received unhurt the fire of a party of muſketeers, ſuppoſed to have been placed in ambuſh by Hammond, and ſucceeded in reaching the boat which was to have conveyed

* "Commons' Journals," 1648.

the king; but the maſter refuſed to let them embark, they having come without him. On this they were compelled to conceal themſelves in the adjacent woods for ſeveral days, and procure ſuſtenance in the night by the aſſiſtance of a kinſman of Mr. Worſley, who eventually provided a veſſel to take them off from the south ſide of the iſland.

Intenſe excitement was created by this untoward miſchance, in conſequence of the reports currently circulated that treachery had been practiſed by "ſome officers who profeſſed ſincerity" to the king's friends, and had, therefore, to a certain extent, been made truſtingly aware of the contrivances they afterwards exerciſed their guilty knowledge to counteract.

Theſe rumours were principally directed againſt Major Rolph, the chief officer, who, ſome little time previouſly, had greatly attached himſelf to Oſborn in the ſuppoſition that, from the perſon by whom he came recommended, he would be well inclined to anything which might advance his own intereſts. He told him, "according to his cuſtom of reviling the king, he wiſhed he were out of the world, for they ſhould never make any ſettlement

while he were alive; that he was ſure the army wiſhed him dead, and that Hammond had received many letters from the army to take him away by poiſon, or any other way, but that he ſaw it would never be done in that place, and therefore, if he would join with him, they could get him from thence, and the work be eaſily done. Oſborn aſked him how it could be poſſible to remove him from thence without Hammond's or the king's own conſent. Rolph anſwered that the king might be decoyed from thence as he was from Hampton Court, by letters from his friends, intimating that danger threatened him, when he would doubtleſs be willing to make an eſcape, and be eaſily deſpatched."

Oſborn, however, found a ſpeedy opportunity to inform the king of Rolph's intentions, who nevertheleſs bade him continue his familiarity with him, and engage to aſſiſt in the contrivance for effecting his removal, as he thought by this means he might make Rolph's villany ſubſervient to his own deſires.

Such is Lord Clarendon's verſion of this affair, who adds, that a common ſoldier was alſo recommended to Oſborn by Rolph, to be em-

ployed with Dowcett, whom the king had before known; and that this ſoldier wrought upon one or two of his companions who uſed to keep guard at the place where the king was to get out; but Oſborne, not implicitly confiding in his new ally, thought fit to conceal from him many important matters. By the aid of one of the ſoldiers, Rolph became aware of this fact, and judging his motives were thereby ſuſpected, he, on the night agreed on, directed the ſoldier to ſtand ſentry in the place to which he had been appointed, whilſt he and ſome others, he truſted, would be at hand, armed with piſtols, in order to ſhoot the king as he deſcended.

Of this arrangement, Hammond is ſaid to have been aware;* and it is aſſumed to be that which cauſed the king to relinquiſh his attempt.

That the common ſoldiers had been tampered with, and that a ſimilar endeavour was propoſed to ſome of the officers, the king's letter to Captain Titus expreſsly declares, whilſt the incident of his betrayal by theſe men is equally certain.

In a MS. volume of topographical notes, collected in the year 1719, principally relating

* Worſley's "Hiſtory of the Iſle of Wight."

to the Iſle of Wight, the writer traditionally says, "that as the king was getting out, a ſentinel unluckily eſpied him, and fired, and waked the watch, and ſo he was prevented; but the ſentinel that fired was afterwards accidentally ſhot, no perſon can tell how."

This is a romantic explanation, but ſtill one that contains the germs of truth, as not many years ſince there was a ſtone near the ſouth porch of Cariſbrook Church which marked the place of ſepulture of one of theſe very men, and ſtated that he was named Floyd, and ſo ſhot "by Newport." This ſtone has been removed of late, but is ſtill well remembered.

Prior to the eſcape of Oſborne from the iſland, he managed to indite and forward a letter to his former patron, Lord Wharton, wherein he detailed theſe circumſtances, and boldly charged Rolph with aiming at the deſtruction of the king. "The intelligence I speak of concerning this deſign," he wrote, "I received from Captain Rolph, a perſon very intimate with the governor, privy to all his counſells, and one that is very high in the eſteem of the army. He, my lord, informed me that to his knowledge the governor had received ſeveral letters from the

army, intimating that they deſired the king might by any means be removed out of the way either by poiſon or otherwiſe; and that another time the ſame perſon perſuaded me to join with him in a deſign to remove the king out of that caſtle to a place of more ſecrecy, proffering to take an oath with me, and to do it without the governor's privity, who, he ſaid, would not conſent to loſe the allowance of the Houſe. His pretence to this attempt was, that the king was in too public a place, from whence he might be reſcued; but if he might be conveyed into ſome place of ſecrecy, he ſaid, we might diſpoſe of his perſon upon all occaſions as we thought fit, and this he was confident we could effect without the governor's privity. My lord, conſidering all theſe pregnant circumſtances, I think it will appear that there were, if there are not ſuch intentions concerning his majeſty's perſon, as may well juſtify any endeavours that have been made for his remove from ſo much danger; and for my own part, my lord, I muſt be ſo plain as to declare concerning my own actings in relation to this buſineſs, that had I done leſs (having ſuch grounds), I muſt believe I had then verified all thoſe aſperſions of diſloyalty and breach of truſt

which I am contented to ſuffer from thoſe whoſe intereſt is perchance oppoſed to my endeavours, to prevent ſuch damnable deſigns."

Lord Wharton kept this communication ſome days in his poſſeſſion, and then ſent it to Hammond, as the fitteſt perſon to examine into the truth of the accuſation; but, on the 15th of June, Osborn, rather confirmed than diſcouraged in his determination by this neglect of Lord Wharton, followed up the appeal by calling the attention of both Houſes of Parliament to his allegation. He offered to verify it upon oath, and be confirmed therein by Worſley and Dowcett. He acquainted the Speakers that he had previouſly placed before Lord Wharton the ſtatement he encloſed to them, that he was unaware what reaſon his lordſhip could have for concealing a buſineſs of that nature, unleſs it was to give thoſe who were concerned in it better time to think of ſome ſtratagem to evade the diſcovery, and prayed that freedom and ſecurity which ought to be afforded to any gentleman and Chriſtian in witneſſing a truth.

In the Commons this information was temporarily ſlighted and laid aſide; but in the Houſe of Peers it made a greater impreſſion, accelerated

perhaps by the conduct of Col. Hutchinſon, which occurred almoſt cotemporaneouſly, as well as by a growing jealouſy of the increaſing power of the Lower Houſe. Their lordſhips ſent with more than ordinary earneſtneſs to the Commons, a demand that Rolph ſhould be ſummoned from the Iſle of Wight, and aſked their concurrence in an ordinance for according forty days to Oſborn, to come forward and make good his aſſertions.

To this requiſition, ſupported as it was by the clamour of the populace, on whom the intelligence of the diſcloſure had a ſurpriſing effect,—an influence the pamphleteering ſcribes of the day loſt no time in fomenting *—the Commons, after ſome diſcuſſion, agreed; and as there was no place mentioned in the letter whereby it could be diſcovered where Oſborne was reſident, a declaration containing copies of the charges and the letters, was ordered to be publiſhed and

* The "*Parrotting Mercury*," of the 26th June, after deſcribing the circumſtance, adds:—

"Oh, curſed traitors and damned hypocrites
Doe kill the king, mix poiſon in his meat,
Or let a red-hot iron do the feat;
Souſe him in malmſey, bore his royal head,
Or cramp his vitals in a feather-bed;
Yet know his ſon doth live though he be gone,
To ſink your ſouls into perdition."

poſted at Weſtminſter, Pauls, and the two Exchanges, ſignifying that he might, within forty days from the date thereof, "come with ſafety to his perſon, to make good the accuſations mentioned in the ſaid letter, ſo long as he may ſtay here for the examination and proof of the buſineſs, and likewiſe have free liberty to depart, without moleſtation, let, or hindrance."

In the meantime, (on the 23rd,) Rolph himſelf appeared before the Houſe of Commons, with a long and laboured teſtimonial from Col. Hammond, in which he not only vouched his belief in Rolph's integrity, and recounted the many good offices he had done the ſtate; but at the ſame time denied the reports which had been circulated reſpecting his own "inhumane abuſing the perſon of the king," and aſked a relief from "this intolerable burden, (which God only, and a good conſcience only, ſupported a poor weak man to undergo,) either by a removal of his majeſty's perſon from thence, or that ſome other perſon might relieve him from the care of the king;" and ſtated, as a poſtſcript, "that ſince he had ended his letter, he had examined the three ſoldiers who were dealt with to have been aſſiſting in the king's eſcape, but

that they all affirmed, and were ready to make good upon oath, that neither Oſborne, Dowcett, nor any other, told them that the king's life was in danger, it being evidently a device to inflame the people."

After this communication had been read to the houſe by the Speaker's command, Rolph was called in, and acquainted with the heads of the charges urged againſt him. He was told, that "what he was to ſpeak, was to be ſpoken in an high court of juſtice, and therefore required and exhorted to ſpeak the truth, as he would anſwer the ſame at the dreadful day of judgment." Rolph abſolutely denied that he ever had any diſcourſe with Oſborn, the governor, or other perſon, to the purpoſe mentioned; and it was therefore determined that Mr. Wheeler ſhould go to the Houſe of Lords, and deſire their concurrence in a committee to unite with the Commons for the purpoſe of examining him forthwith upon oath, and taking the evidence of other perſons that would come in and teſtify any knowledge of the accuſation.

On the 27th of the ſame month, Oſborn preſented himſelf at the bar of the Houſe of Lords, and ſtated he was come to make good what he

had written, but that he greatly relied on Dowcett's corroboration to verify what he had advanced.

He was then expreſsly aſked, whether he would avow the letter and juſtify the matter;* and on anſwering yes, and deſiring Mr. Worſley and Mr. Dowcett, as his witneſſes, it was ordered by the Houſe, that Major Rolph ſhould ſtand committed to the Gatehouſe at Weſtminſter, as he was accuſed of high treaſon before the lords in Parliament; that Mr. Worſley (who, however, does not appear to have come forward at any time in aid of his compeers), ſhould receive protection; and that Oſborn ſhould be bailed in the ſum of 5000*l.* ("Richardus Oſborn recognovit ſe debere D'no Regi in 5000*l.*") to appear from time to time to make good this charge.

Major Rolph, at firſt, declined to ſubmit to the authority of the Houſe, and addreſſed a letter to their lordſhips from his reſidence in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, in which he not only totally repudiated the imputation, but by the oath of his chirurgeons, Thomas Farrar and Barth. Lavandar, declared "that he was not able to come abroad without manifeſt danger to his

* Lords' "Journals."

health, and that it would be a month before he was competent to do ſo."

On the 3rd July, Dowcett, in the cuſtody of the keeper of Peter Houſe, where he had been committed on his arrival in London on the 21ſt of June, was brought before the committee, and queſtioned by Lord Hunſdon, as to his knowledge of Rolph's deſign, but as he urged his inability to addreſs them in ſufficient language, not being an Engliſhman,* he was permitted to deliver the following evidence in writing:—

"My Lords,

"I am ready to make oath, that Mr. Richard Oſborn told me the king's perſon was in great danger, and that the ſaid Rolph had a deſign on foot for the conveying his majeſty's perſon to ſome place of ſecrecy, where only three† ſhould go with him, and where they might diſpoſe of his perſon as they ſhould think fit; which information from Mr. Oſborn, and the aſſurance I had of his majeſty's intention

* Dowcett was an Italian.

† Rolph, Oſborn, and another Parliamentarian officer.

forthwith to come to this Parliament, was the cauſe of my engagement in this buſineſs.

"2. I am ready likewiſe to depoſe that the ſaid Rolph came to me when I was a priſoner in the caſtle, and in a jeering manner aſked me, 'why the king came not down according to his appointment?' and then with great indignation and fury ſaid, he waited almoſt three hours under the new platform, with a good piſtol charged to receive him if he had come.*

"AB. DOWCETT."

This document was ſworn by Dowcett, at the bar of the Houſe of Peers, and the effect of ſo clear a corroboration of Oſborn's teſtimony was, notwithſtanding the written denial which had been received from Rolph, that Serjeant Fynch and Sir Thomas Bedingfield, aided by Oſborn, were inſtructed to draw up an impeachment of high treaſon againſt him; and Mr. Thane, the gentleman-uſher, was ordered to take him into cuſtody and secure him; but to firſt employ a ſurgeon to view and see what condition he was in, and report.

On the following day, it was declared to the

* Lords' "Journals."

Houſe, that Rolph, although weak of an ague, might be removed without danger of his life, whereupon, in purſuance of the former order, he was directed to be sent cloſe priſoner to the Gatehouſe; and their lordſhips further determined, "that in case an indictment ſhould be found in Hants, the judge (Mr. Juſtice Godbold) was to ſuſpend proceedings, as it was the reſolution of the Houſe, that the indictment ſhould be removed by *certiorari* into the Court of King's Bench, "that there might be a legal procedure therein."* If the obvious wiſh of the Houſe of Commons had been heeded, no additional inquiry would have been made into this myſterious accuſation; but if even the Lords had been leſs ſtrenuous in their oppoſition, the popular opinion was too loudly expreſſed to allow of ſuch an impolitic courſe.

Several fruitleſs endeavours were made on the part of Rolph, to procure the acquieſcence of the peers in a ſimilar ordinance to that by which Oſborn had been protected, in order that he might be releaſed from cuſtody; and in conſequence of their determined refuſal, a petition was preſented to the Houſe of Commons, by

* Lords' "Journals."

Alice Rolph, on behalf of her huſband, wherein ſhe endeavoured to ſhow that, "almoſt to the hazard of his life, both in reſpect of his bodily diſtempers and the fury of the multitude, he was violently hurried to the Gatehouſe priſon at Weſtminſter, being never ſo much as examined, or carried before a legal magiſtrate, as by law he ought, it being an act abhorred even by Paul's heathen judges, viz., to condemn any man before he is heard, and he and his accuser be brought face to face. And to heighten their cruelty, the lords have ſince paſſed a ſentence of close impriſonment upon your petitioner's huſband; denying him the benefit and aſſiſtance of his friends, which your petitioner conceiveth to be contrary to all law or reaſon, and the very height of tyranny, that a man ſhall ſtand accuſed (nay, without, and contrary to law condemned,) for ſuch a heinous crime as treaſon. And being ſick of body, almoſt to death, ſhould be locked up and threatened to be laid in irons, and debarred all ways, either to know what is in particular laid to his charge, or to make his lawful defence."

She concluded, by praying the interference of the Houſe in her huſband's behalf.

This ſtatement ſo far operated on the Commons, that a conference was demanded on the ſubject with the Lords for the 12th of Auguſt, when Serjeant Wild was deputed to requeſt their lordſhips' concurrence in a meaſure for bailing Major Rolph, "an act he conſidered not more of favour than juſtice."

In his ſpeech he ſtrongly urged that, "even if Oſborn and Dowcett's tale were true, that the perſon he deſired to murder was no king, the plot having been contrived whilſt the votes for non-addreſſes were in force; that if a king was excommunicate, he was no longer a king, and therefore it was lawful to take him away. He that was an unprofitable king hath been for juſt cauſes (of which we are the ſole judges) diveſted of all power; therefore I ſay he is no king, but we conjointly are king of England.

"How elſe could we have truſſed up Burley (not the leaſt of my ſervices), who would have reſcued the king from Cariſbrook?

"Beſides, my lords, againſt this gentleman there is a bare accuſation or impeachment, and that only by two priſoners, whoſe teſtimonies in all the circumſtances agree not; for I am ſure

there is a great difference in their handwriting, (a point worthy your lordſhips' conſideration); but ſuppoſe they agreed, both in circumſtance and ſubſtance, ſhall the teſtimony of two ſuch men condemn ſo well-deſerving a man for a few fooliſh ſuppoſed treaſonable words or intentions, and but againſt a titular king? for we are king in effect—we judges of the law, he our priſoner.

"Nay, my lords, I will go further and affirm that if a jury of 12 men ſhould condemn him, yet, in point of diſcretion and reaſon of ſtate, we may, and ought, not only to bail this virtuous gentleman, but alſo to releaſe and ſet him free."

Such was a portion of the learned ſerjeant's argument in favour of the Commons' propoſition; but as, with all its ingenious ſophiſtry, their lordſhips were not convinced that Rolph was ſo worthy a gentleman or ſo great a martyr as Wild's ſtrangely eloquent remonſtrance, rather than appeal, would have had them believe, the Lower Houſe voted, on their own reſponſibility, that the keeper of the Gatehouſe ſhould be directed to accommodate him "with ſufficient lodging as a priſoner, and that his friends,

phyſicians, and ſurgeons ſhould be permitted to reſort unto him."

The lords ultimately withdrew their ordinance reſpecting his intended trial, and agreed that it ſhould be proſecuted at the coming aſſize at Wincheſter.

On the 28th of Auguſt, Rolph procured the publication of a broadſide addreſs, under the title of "The caſe of Major Edmund Rolph truly ſtated," a paper which contains ſo intereſting an alluſion to the part he acknowledged to have played in counteracting the king's eſcape, as well as important teſtimony of the ſtate of the public feeling at the time, that much of it ſeems worthy of being tranſcribed to theſe pages.

(Extract from the Caſe of Major Rolph.)

"Maſter Oſborne being gentleman-uſher to the king, and Maſter Dowcett, clerk of the kitchen, with others, had entered into a conſpiracy to betray the perſon of the king out of the protection of Parliament, and to that end had corrupted ſeveral ſoldiers, which was diſcovered to me on the 28th of May, 1648, which

I immediately told to the governor the night following, the time when the ſaid deſign ſhould have been executed. In order to which, Oſborne was gone out of the caſtle to provide horſes for to convey the king from the place of his reſidence by the authority of Parliament, and receiving the alarum of the diſcovery (being near the caſtle-wall, waiting for the king's coming down), immediately fled and hid himſelf in ſome ſecret corner for the ſpace of 3 days after; only Dowcett was taken priſoner that night in the caſtle; and Floyd, one of the ſoldiers, who, upon examination, confeſſed the truth of every particular touching the ſaid deſign before diſcovered by three other ſoldiers that were engaged alſo, but never mentioned the leaſt word that ever Oſborne or Dowcett had ſo much as pretended that the king's perſon was in danger; but ſome days after that the diſcovery was made, the ſaid Oſborne ſent a letter to the Lord Wharton, wherein he did charge me with ſpeaking words to this effect, viz., that I ſhould ſay, *that to my knowledge the governor had received letters from the army, intimating that they deſired the king might be removed out of the way, by poiſon or other-*

wiſe, &c., which letter the Lord Wharton ſent unto Col. Hammond, the governor of the Iſle of Wight.

"The governor having examined Dowcett and ſeveral other ſoldiers that were parties in the deſign, (Dowcett having affirmed, in the preſence of many, as will be proved,) that he knew of no ſuch deſign, though the very rope by which the king was to go down, was found in his chamber, ſent them to London, where being brought by a guard, and by the way hearing of Oſborne's pamphlet, and the charge contained therein, profeſſed openly that he was confident that there was no ſuch thing as that the king's life was in danger, neither did he know anything concerning me; and that he did believe Oſborne would never appear to make good his charge; or if he did appear, yet he would never be ſo wicked as to forſwear himſelf.

"But Oſborne appearing, having firſt capitulated with the Houſes for a protection from the laws for his traitorous practices as aforeſaid, the ſaid Dowcett, clean contrary to his former averments, gave under his hand a paper, wherein he declared that Oſborne had told him that the king's life was in danger, &c., and that when he

was in priſon I had in a jeering manner aſked him why the king came not down according to appointment, and that I ſhould ſay that I ſtood under the new platform with a piſtol in my hand to receive him, although it will be eaſily proved that I was all that while in my chamber, until the very time the governor gave me order to apprehend the ſaid Dowcett.

"Oſborne's letter coming to the Iſle of Wight on Wedneſday, 21ſt of June, I immediately, that night, though I had been ſick a week before, by reaſon of an impoſtumation of my lower parts, took my journey toward London, and came to the Houſe of Commons on Friday 23, 1648, where, at the open bar, I declared what I knew, in every particular; from which time I attended upon the Houſe of Lords until Tueſday after, when, by reaſon of that bodily diſtemper then upon me, increaſed by my journey, I was neceſſitated to keep my chamber and forbear any further attendance, only leaving notes of the place of my abode with ſeveral perſons attending the Houſes, in caſe I ſhould be inquired for, as was affirmed by the Speaker of the honourable the Houſe of Commons.

"Upon Tueſday, June 27th, the lords, upon

theſe falſe informations, made an order for my attachment and commitment to the Gatehouſe, Weſtminſter, not ſo much as ever calling me before themſelves, or ſending me before any legal magiſtrate, as by law they ought.

"The day following being the faſt-day, though I had received information of their proceedings, yet I could not receive ſatisfaction concerning the truth thereof, the houſe not ſitting until Thurſday, being the 29th June, 1648, on which day I ſent to know the truth thereof: the ſaid warrant not yet being executed upon me, (as I conceive to give me time to run away,) hoping that I might prove ſo cowardly as not to ſtand to it, having ſuch great men as the lords to deal withal, and such a heinous crime as treaſon laid to my charge. But, contrary to their expectation, on Friday, being June the 30, I ſent a letter to the lords, certifying unto them my condition and place of abode, which I am confident they knew well enough, though they would take no notice thereof; and my two chirurgeons alſo, to the end they might atteſt (as they afterwards did) that it was indeed a bodily diſtemper which occasioned my non-attendance, and nothing elſe. Yet, notwithſtanding this clear evidence of my integrity, the

lords perſiſted, and their officers, in the execution of their firſt and ſecond warrants, exerciſed ſuch cruelty as hath not been manifeſted to the kingdom's greateſt enemies, neither taking notice of the weakneſs of my condition, atteſted by my chirurgeons, being not able to turn myſelf in bed, nor the invalidity of the charge brought againſt me by criminal perſons, there being no crime in law laid to my charge, nor one legal accuſer, inſomuch that my life was, by my unſeaſonable removal, not only by my ſickneſs, but alſo by the violence of an inconſiderate multitude, to whoſe rage I was expoſed, and from whoſe fury I was with great difficulty by Providence preſerved.

"Being thus cruelly hurried to the Gatehouſe, I was as tyrannically uſed there, having a ſentence of cloſe impriſonment paſſed upon me, by reaſon of which my wife, friends, and chirurgeons, were kept from me to the hazard of my utter ruin, where, had not the honourable Houſe of Commons timely interpoſed, I had certainly periſhed.

"Two months I have remained a priſoner without either legal warrant, legal crime, or legal accuſer. And now, in order to the further

proſecution of their deſign, not only to ruin me, but to blaſt the repute of the army and all other well-affected perſons, they have framed an indictment upon the ſaid ſcandalous informations, and have ordered the ſame to be tranſmitted to the next aſſizes held for the county of Southampton."

Having thus eſſayed the way for another appeal to the Commons, a petition was preſented from him to that Houſe on the 3rd of September. He pleaded that an indictment had been prepared by the Lords, and tranſmitted to Wincheſter, whilſt he was kept a cloſe priſoner in the Gatehouſe; and that Oſborn and Dowcett had been ſent thither on the 28th of Auguſt to give evidence to the grand jury on the ſaid indictment. "That notwithſtanding the ſaid indictment conſiſted of four ſeveral heads of treaſon, wherein the whole army was accuſed, yet the ſaid Oſborn and Dowcett gave nothing material in evidence whereon an indictment could be grounded: ſo that upon the examination of the whole matters the grand jury returned an *ignoramus* upon the ſaid bill of indictment, as by a certification from the clerk of the aſſize more plainly appeared.

"That your petitioner, notwithſtanding he is clear in the eye of the law, and in the conſciences of all honeſt men, yet he is ſtill a priſoner to the will of the Lords, and left without a poſſibility of legal reparation both for his illegal impriſonment, beſides his great charges and damages in his eſtate and credit ſuſtained, being left without all poſſibility of vindication or reparation, unleſs this Honourable House be pleaſed (as in like caſes heretofore) to take him into conſideration, and as a manifeſtation of the juſt ſenſe of their own and the army's honour, and your petitioner's unparalleled ſufferings, find ſome expedient both for the enlargement, vindication, and reparation of your petitioner, the judges being both corrupt, and ſo nearly concerned, the Lords ſo powerful, and Oſborn and Dowcett ſo beggarly, that it is impoſſible your petitioner ſhould ever be repaired in his eſtate or credit without your juſtice be exerciſed in the obtaining thereof.

"And foraſmuch as the judges are appointed to ſit with the Lords as their aſſiſtants in point of law, and ought to inform them by what rule they ought to proceed, being ſworn thereunto, and yet have, contrary to law and their oaths,

connived at the apparent ſubverſion of the fundamental laws of this nation, by ſuffering ſuch illegal warrants to paſs from time to time from the Lords upon ſuch illegal accuſations, that therefore this Houſe would be pleaſed to call the ſaid judges to an account for thoſe their undue proceedings; and out of their eſtates (who ought to have prevented your petitioner's ſufferings and damages) to allow him ſuch legal reparations as your honours ſhall deem meet and convenient."

By this extract, it will be perceived that Rolph had been virtually tried and acquitted under a courſe of action, which would certainly ſeem by his ſtatement, to evince either an extraordinary emanation of malevolence towards him by the Houſe of Peers, or their firm conviction of his guilt; whilſt his detention would apparently ſhow that it was their intention to take ſome ulterior meaſures of procedure againſt him.

The charge of corruption and oppreſſion on the part of the judges is not, however, ſo well founded; becauſe the ſame agency which had ſo ſucceſsfully procured the condemnation of Burley, had been again enliſted to deviſe the

acquittal of Rolph. On the death of Mr. Juſtice Godbold, Serjeant Wild was ordered to preſide at the trial, which, as ſtated in Rolph's petition, was held at Wincheſter, on the 28th of Auguſt, 1648.

At the time of trial, Oſborn and Dowcett, by command of the Houſe of Peers, proceeded to Wincheſter, where likewiſe Mrs. Rolph was found "taking care for the diſperſing of ſeveral papers in her huſband's vindication, and poſting them up in the moſt eminent places in the Hall where he was to receive his trial." *

The indictment was framed under the proviſions of the ſame act of Parliament which had been urged againſt Burley, the 25th of Edward the Third, ſupported by the teſtimony of Oſborn and Dowcett, who, however, were denied the uſe of counſel, although,—as was written at the time,—"conſidering the zeal of Wild, (whose great ruff was the only conſpicuous monument of authority on the Bench,) and Mr. Liſle who sat with him, who might have been advocates as well as judges, and saved Rolph the charge of a counſellor," two perſons of the names of Maynard and Nicholls appeared

* Probably "The Case of Major Rolph," as already quoted.

on his behalf, Maynard having been a prominent character at the trial of Strafford.

The jury conſiſted of Humphrey Oſey, of Wherwell, gent.; William Woolgar, of Havant, gent.; Thomas Domer, of Chicknel, gent.; Benedictus Barnham, of Northwarnborough, gent.; Arthur Lipſcomb, of Alresford, gent.; Bartholomew Stileman, of Mattingley, gent.; John Hunt, of Alton, gent.; Robert Cooper, of Barton Stacey, gent.; John Yeardley, of Preſton Candover, gent.; William Soper, of Domer, gent.; William Harward, of Charlcot, gent.; Jo. Hornwood, of Church Okeley, gent.; Robert Powlſon, of Hawkley, gent.; William Demaſk, of Everſeley, gent.; Robert Bunney, of Ibdrop, gent.; Jo. Waterman, of Tangley, gent.; and Thomas Haſker, of Bromley, gent.

Wild firſt addreſſed himſelf to the jury, by reading them a letter from Cromwell, in which he announced his northern victory, telling them he did ſo for the purpoſe of enliſting their reverence for Oliver, and good opinion for Rolph; and, ſecondly, the letter which had been conveyed by Rolph to the Houſe of Commons as his vindication, by Hammond.

Dowcett deſired to deliver his examination in

writing, alleging that the lords had allowed him a ſimilar liberty at their bar, but was refuſed his requeſt by Wild.

Oſborn ſtated, "That he, this *examinat*, being in the place of gentleman-uſher to the king, at and in the caſtle at Cariſbrook, in the Iſle of Wight, in the county of Southampton, his majeſty, about a week after the beginning of the month of May laſt paſt, as near as this examinat can now call the time to mind, complained to this examinat of the harſhneſs of his uſage in the ſaid caſtle, expreſſing that he was deſirous to eſcape from thence, and moved this examinat to aſſiſt him to that purpoſe, and to think of the means how it might be done. And his majeſty then ſaid, that it would be the moſt expeditious way to procure a peace, if he could eſcape; or uſed words to that effect. Howbeit this examinat did not then expreſs any conſent to the ſaid motion; but, at a time afterwards, this examinat being of familiar acquaintance with Captain Edmund Rolph, now Major Rolph, who had a reſidence in the ſaid caſtle wherein he [the king] lodged, this examinat went into the ſaid reſidence to viſit him. And this examinat enquiring of him what news there

was, the ſaid Rolph told this examinat that the governor of the ſaid iſland had received ſeveral letters from the army, to make away with the king by poiſon or otherwiſe; at which news this examinat ſeeming to ſtart, the ſaid Rolph pauſed awhile, and fell off from that diſcourſe.

"Yet, before they parted, the ſaid Rolph propounded another deſign, wherein he moved this examinat to join with him, proffering to take an oath with the examinat concerning the ſame; which other deſign was to remove the king, who was then at and in Cariſbrook Caſtle aforeſaid, out of, and from that place, unto ſome other place of more ſecrecy; pretending that at Cariſbrook, his majeſty was in too public a place from whence he might be reſcued; but the ſaid Rolph ſaid, that if we carried him to a place of more ſecrecy, we might diſpoſe of his perſon as we thought fit.

"Whereupon, this examinat enquiring of Rolph, whether the ſaid governor would agree thereunto, the ſaid Rolph anſwered, he feared he would not, for that he was a covetous man, and would not agree thereunto, for fear of loſing the allowance from the Houſe.

"This examinat then objected, how this could

be effected againſt the king's will; to which the ſaid Rolph anſwered, he would deceive him by letters, pretending they came from his majeſty's own friends.

"Then this examinat further objected: It is to be ſuppoſed the king hath ciphers which he the ſaid Rolph could not counterfeit; to which the ſaid Rolph anſwered, it is true; but *Glemham*, or thoſe that are far off, and have not lately been with his majeſty, have no ciphers. And then the ſaid Rolph told this examinat, that he had letters ready written to the purpoſe aforeſaid.

"This examinat ſaid, it were very fit they ſhould acquaint the committee at Derby Houſe, for their approbation to be had before they ſhould endeavour to remove the king. And this examinat offered himſelf to come up to London to that purpoſe; but the ſaid Rolph declared, that he utterly diſliked that courſe, ſaying he could effect the ſaid deſign without the governor's privity.

"This examinat further ſaith, that the very ſame day, or the next day after, being the firſt opportunity that this examinat could get to ſpeak of it to the king, he told his majeſty all

that the ſaid Rolph had ſaid unto him. And his majeſty therefore ſaid, that he had lately received a letter from ſome or one of his friends, purporting that there was an intention to remove his majeſty not only from thence, but from the knowledge of all mankind, if poſſible. And ſhortly afterwards, his majeſty having spoken again to this examinat, to think of ſome way how his majeſty might eſcape, this examinat did conſent to uſe his beſt endeavour to help his majeſty to eſcape.

"And this examinat further ſaith, that he did ſhortly after acquaint Mr. Abraham Dowcett (who waited then as clerk of the kitchen to his majeſty) with his majeſty's deſire to eſcape, moving him to be an aſſiſtant therein, who ſaid it might be a dangerous buſineſs, or to that effect; but within a few days after this examinat went again to the ſaid Dowcett, and acquainted him with all that which the ſaid Rolph had formerly told this examinat, concerning the ſaid Rolph's deſign for the removal of his majeſty to a place of ſecrecy as aforeſaid, and moved the ſaid Dowcett again to join with this examinat to help his majeſty's eſcape.

"The ſaid Dowcett ſeemed then to make doubt

of his majeſty's decree in that behalf, requiring to be ſatisfied with the ſight of ſomewhat for it under his majeſty's hand, which this examinat ſpeedily procured; but then the ſaid Dowcett demanded whither the king would go if he could eſcape. This examinat told the ſaid Dowcett, that his majeſty's purpoſe was to go to his Parliament; and then the ſaid Dowcett ſaid to this examinat, that he would be aſſiſtant towards the helping of his majeſty to eſcape, or uſed words to that effect.

"And upon Sunday, the eight and twentieth day of May laſt paſt, about twelve of the clock at night, this examinat, with the privity and aſſiſtance of the ſaid Dowcett, and of one Mr. Edward Worſley, and of four ſoldiers, whoſe ſurnames, as he taketh it, were Floyd, and Tilling, and Wenſcall, and Featherſtone, thought to have effected the ſame by ſuch means as was in that behalf agreed upon. And this examinat for his part, was thereby to attain the effecting thereof, at the time and place in that behalf to him appointed; this examinat being by agreement to attend with a boat to receive his majeſty at a convenient place to that purpoſe aſſigned; to which place the ſaid other parties,

or ſome of them, ſhould in the night-time have conveyed his majeſty; but this examinat finding by the relation of the ſaid Mr. Worſley, who came towards the ſaid place without the king, that their deſign for his majeſty's eſcape was diſcovered, he did, by the advice and help of the ſaid Mr. Worſley, who was an inhabitant of the ſaid iſland, conceal himſelf in the ſaid iſland, by the ſpace of three days then next following or thereabouts; and then he and the ſaid Mr. Worſley, in the night-time, paſſed over by boat from the ſaid iſland, into the county of Suſſex."

This examination having been taken upon oath and backed by the evidence of Dowcett, the ſtatements of the ſoldiers as received by Hammond, were read, and Wild proceeded to addreſs himſelf to the jury.

"Gentlemen," ſaid he, "this is a buſineſs of great importance; take heed how you move in it; the Houſe of Commons reſent it very much: for this Major Rolph is a gallant man, and hath done great ſervice for the ſtate. Now in a buſineſs of this nature, there muſt not be only

probable but provable evidence, evidence, 'luce clariora,' which this is not. There was a time, indeed, when intentions and words were treaſon, but, gentlemen, God forbid it ſhould be ſo now. Conſider likewiſe the invalidity of the witneſſes, more guilty than he for aught I ſee, for it was a crime to endeavour to remove the king from thence. For we are all miſtaken. The king is not in priſon; we only keep him ſafe to ſave bloodſhed, and the better to make addreſſes to him, which theſe men would have hindered. How do you know, but that theſe men would have made away with the king, and Rolph charged his piſtol to ſecure him? Take notice, gentlemen, of the word 'receive.' He might lie there to protect the king from the violence of other perſons; and had the king miſcarried, theſe men would have been guilty of his blood. They indeed deſerve to be indicted, for, their deſign failing, they accuſe him out of ill-will; and ſo, ye gentlemen of the jury, I leave his innocence to your judgment and diſcretion." But immediately bethinking himſelf, he again addreſſed them on the importance of the word "receive," which he ſaid meant, that Rolph "remained three hours with a good piſtol ready

charged to have *received* the king had he come down." To this Oſborn replied, "that in the language of a ſoldier, it ſignified as much as 'I will kill ſuch a man.'"

Wild however ſilenced the interruption by ſaying, "It might ſo; but God forbid he ſhould proceed againſt any man for words or expreſſions." The jury thereupon retired, and as they ſpeedily returned with an *ignoramus*, the anticipations of the judge and the wiſhes of the Commons were fully realized.*

The effect of this trial, aided by the receipt of the petition already cited, was a reſolution by the Commons, that the body of Major Rolph ſhould be brought by the keeper of the Gatehouſe to the bar of the Houſe on the ſucceeding Monday at nine o'clock. In purſuance of this order he was preſented, and received his diſcharge from cuſtody; and on the 9th of Septem-

* "The Second Centurie of Parliament Men," 4to., 1648, ſays: "*Sergeant Wilde, Juſticiarius itinerans, anglicè*, 'Journeyman judge,' had, after the hanging of Captain Burley, 1000*l.* out of the Privy Purſe of Derby Houſe; 'tis thought he afforded a great pennyworth in his ſervice, which another would not have done for 100,000*l.*, and it is affirmed he had 1000*l.* more upon the acquittal of Major Rolfe, ſo it is all one to him whether he hangs or hangs not."

ber, 150*l.* were voted him as ſome compenſation for his ſuppoſed wrongs.

To this ordinance, the Lords however refuſed their aſſent, and with the re-committal of Dowcett to Peter Houſe, and the return of Rolph to his duties at Cariſbrook, this ſingular and myſterious propoſition, or, otherwiſe, ingenious but monſtrous expedient, terminated.

With whatever care the circumſtances detailed in the foregoing narrative may be ſcrutiniſed, the detection of the betrayer or the betrayed is of courſe now an utter impoſſibility. The plauſible ſtatements of Oſborn at firſt ſight forcibly arreſt the ſympathies of the reader, and thereby attach more than a probability of credence to the charges he propounded. The tale is well connected, and in many points capable of corroboration by cotemporary authorities, whilſt the propoſition is one to which many perſons of note attached to the army were known to be favourable. But then ariſes the queſtion, if all this was known to the king, why did he allow his communications to Titus and his other correſpondents to paſs without ſome alluſion to ſo extraordinary and deſirable a propoſition. In theſe letters, he is found the rather urging them

to endeavour to gain over ſome of the officers, which was certainly, under theſe circumſtances, quite an unneceſſary danger, as the men whoſe ſervices he believed he had ſecured, are ſhown to have belonged to Rolph's own company; and he by Oſborn's examination and letters, was ſuppoſed to be intereſted in the king's attempted eſcape, although prompted by nefarious motives.

A letter from Cariſbrook, of the 24th July, 1648, deſcribes Oſborn in the following terms:—"His carriage and language ſaintlike when he was in the company of religious men, but when aſſociated with vain perſons he was as vain and fooliſh as they, ſpending his precious time in tippling, ſinging, and unprofitable diſcourſes. The day before he ſhould have acted his villany, hearing a ſermon wherein theſe or the like words were delivered, '*that the heathen philoſophers, if they were now living, would abhor thoſe men that are falſe to their principles and undertakings*;' and afterwards ſeemed to bleſs God for ſo ſeaſonable a diſcourſe, and to be deeply affected therewith;" yet (notwithſtanding) he was the moſt forward man in the deſign of conveying away the king the night following.

"No man inveighed more againſt the king's actings and intereſts than he, inſomuch that he was blamed by ſome, and ſuſpected by others (well affected) upon this ground, as conceiving that a man may be faithful to his truſt, and conſcientiouſly diſcharge his duty, without ſuch bitter reflections upon the adverſe party.

"His expreſſion in the praiſe and commendation of the army (under the conduct of Lord Fairfax) and their late actings and proceedings were hyperbolical, as if he had been one of their greateſt friends; whereas, it appears he was one of their moſt malicious adverſaries."

This is the character drawn of Oſborn by an adversary, for the natural tendency of whoſe opinion ſome allowance muſt be made; but even with this admiſſion, enough will remain to convict him of having greatly overacted his part, and prove that much hypocriſy exiſted in him. He would therefore appear not altogether incapable of deviſing ſuch a ſcheme, perhaps with the hope, that after the publication of so forcible and damning an accuſation, the Parliament would be either obligated to remove the king's perſon to ſome other place of keeping, where leſs formidable obſtacles would be likely to

intervene for preventing his eſcape, or that men leſs energetic than Hammond and Rolph might be appointed to the command at Cariſbrook, and thereby further the ſame reſult. This ſuppoſition is only ſtated as a poſſible incentive for the concoction of the device, if device it were; and in furtherance of the conjecture, the reader's attention is requeſted to a very remarkable obſervation by the king himſelf, in the following letter; one of the ſeries addreſſed to Captain Titus.

Number XIV.

Monday, 10 July, 1648.

"W.

"Yours of the 5th of this month I receaued upon Saturday laſt: being glad to know where to fynde you, I will anſwer your Newes (for w^ch^ I thank you), with Newes, leaſt our doeings heere ſhould be miſreported to you: I haue been tould by ſuch as I know will not deceaue me, that, of late, this Gouernor thought with cunning to have ſcrewed out an examination from the king concerning his pretended eſcape; for by way of freedom, ſhowing him a letter of Mr. Oſburne tuching that buſineſs, the

ſayd Gouernor deſyred to know of the king, if he had heard Major Rolph ſay any ſuch thing whereof Oſburne accuſed him, but all the Anſwer that the king would give him was: If he knew nothing, he could tell him nothing: becauſe his maxime is neuer to cleare one man to the prejudice of another, or of his owen ſervice: and be confident, this is all in ſubſtance, that the Gouernor could gett from the king, concerning this buſineſs: but upon occaſion of Diſcourſe before ſome ladies, I heard the king ſay, that the Gouernor never offerd any Perſonall inciuility to him (hoping they .belieued that he would never endure it ſo long as his hands were free) nor did he euer ſuſpect hurt from him by way of Treachery: aſſeuring you this, in ſubſtance, is all that the king ſpoke for the Gouernor's juſtification: and now, I have no more to ſay, but to recomend to your care the delivery of theaſe two incloſed letters, and to ſend newes as often as you can,

"Your moſt aſſeured reall frend,

"J."

209 : 263 : 563 : 228 : 226 : 360 : 468 :
279 : 493 : 509 : 63 : 429 : 117 : 158 :
209 : 126 : 179 : 189 : 109 : 463 :

(I muſt certainly know the contents of Rogers' Papers before I can get him any answer).

"Since writing of this, I have receaued yours of the 3rd of this month, whereby I finde that you have written me two letters w^{ch} I have not receaued.

"One of theſe is to 457 (*Lady Carliſle*), and the other to 715 (*Mrs. Whorwood*)."

On the other hand, it is requiſite that due attention ſhould be paid to Rolph's known connection with the moſt violent party in the army, and his expreſſed deſire for ſuch a reſult as Oſborn's allegation foreboded, whilſt it cannot be ſuppoſed that the Houſe of Lords would have purſued ſo firm a reſolve, or the Houſe of Commons ſo great a laxity of regardful conſideration for ſo grave a charge, if there had not been ſtrong reaſons to believe, in the one caſe, that the accuſation reſted on a truthful foundation, and that in the other there was a ſimilar conviction, but that it received the ſympathies, rather than the indignation of the majority of the members.

It is alſo worthy of remark, that at the time of trial, the true bill was ignored by the jury

becauſe the indictment was only ſupported by a ſingle witneſs; and that probabilities ſeem to render refutation as impoſſible as would be the endeavour to arrive at a ſatisfactory concluſion of the guilt or innocence of the parties whoſe names occur in the relation of this myſterious tranſaction, on both ſides.

Whether Oſborn was the injured or the injurer, the king was not however unmindful of his ſervices, as in a letter written to the Prince of Wales, from Newport, on the 6th November following, he ſays:—

"P.S. If Oſborne (who has been in trouble for me about Major Rolph's buſineſs) come to you, uſe him well for my ſake."

CHAPTER VI.

State of the Kingdom at large—Renewal of Correſpondence with Captain Titus—A Treaty Propoſed by the Parliament, and Accepted by the King—Preparations for the Treaty—The Treaty of Newport.

FOR the purpoſe of elucidating this narrative, it now becomes neceſſary that a brief retroſpect ſhould be rendered of the tranſactions which agitated the kingdom at large during the interval in which the thrilling occurrences that have been related in connection with the perſonal hiſtory of Charles, were being enacted.

It has been already ſtated, that ſoon after the paſſing of the vote of non-addreſſes, the king appealed to the good ſenſe of the people through the agency of the preſs; and in the ſtate of the public mind which thereupon enſued, every eye

was turned towards Scotland; but the return of the Scottiſh commiſſioners having diſpelled the hopes which had been entertained of the king's acceſſion to the Covenant, the Scottiſh Parliament was intimidated by the vehemence of the populace. The Duke of Hamilton, the avowed leader of the royaliſts and preſbyterians, whoſe deſign it was to reſtore the king, thereupon became neceſſitated to conceal his purpoſe under the pretence of ſuppreſſing hereſy and ſchiſm; and in the meantime the Earl of Argyle, his chief opponent, promoted ſo ſtrong an oppoſition by heading the Covenanters, that of the levy of 30,000 foot, and 6000 horſe voted to ſerve under the duke, there could only be raiſed 10,000 foot and 600 horſe, nor even theſe until the month of July.

Inſurrectionary movements on the part of the royaliſts were nevertheleſs becoming general throughout England; as on the 9th of April, the initiative had been afforded by a mob of apprentices and other young people, who ſtoned a captain of trainbands in Moorfields, and then marched in diſorderly array to Weſtminſter, with the cry of King Charles! King Charles!

As might have been expected, they were

quickly diſperſed by a troop of horſe, which ſallied from the Mews; but on their retreating into the city, they filled it with diſorder and fears, plundered houſes of arms, and forced the lord mayor to eſcape privately, and ſeek refuge in the Tower.

This example was quickly followed by ſimilar diſturbances in Norwich, Thetford, Exeter, Canterbury, and other towns, which were indeed ſuppreſſed by the exertions of Fairfax and the county committees; but the attitude aſſumed by the multitude, forcibly ſhowed that a very ſtrong current of feeling favourable to the royal cauſe was again ſetting in.

The Preſbyterians having united with the concealed royaliſts, apparently acquired a majority in the Houſe of Commons, as on the 24th of April they ſucceeded in carrying a vote veſting the military poſts and defences of the City of London in the Common Council; four days after, that the government of the kingdom ſhould continue to be by King, Lords, and Commons; and they then ſubmitted a propoſition, notwithſtanding the vote of non-addreſſes, for a treaty to be opened with the king, whilſt petitions from various public bodies poured into

the two Houſes, all reiterating the ſame prayer, viz., that the army ſhould be diſbanded, and the king brought back to his capital.

The inhabitants of Surrey and Eſſex felt diſſatisfied with the anſwers returned to their petitions, and joined with thoſe of Kent in their repeated aſſemblages for conſidering their cauſes of complaint, and of deviſing a means of redreſs. As the reſult of their deliberations, they formed aſſociations, collected arms, and at an appointed time arranged a general riſing, in which the town of Deal ſhowed ſo great a ſpirit of loyalty and determination, that preparations were made by Admiral Rainſborough to chaſtiſe their preſumption, as it was termed. He left orders for the fleet to follow him, and proceeded in his barge towards the town; but as his men were moſtly reſidents at that port, where their wives and families then were, murmurs aroſe; and on its being propoſed by one Tindale, a boatſwain in the admiral's ſhip, that they alſo ſhould declare for the king, the inſtigation was adopted, and the officers arreſted, whilſt the crews of the other ſhips followed their example, in defiance of the remonſtrances of their commanders.

This fleet conſiſted of ſix ſhips of war fully

equipped for ſummer ſervice; and after thus declaring themſelves, they immediately ſailed under the royal colours to Helvoetſluys, in Holland, in ſearch of the Duke of York, whom they choſe as their commander-in-chief.*

The men of Kent, after having threatened the Parliament for ſome time, marched boldly upon London; and as the Parliament had no armed power at hand to ſupport its authority—the royaliſts numerous, and the Common Council diſaffected, this was a movement fraught with the moſt important conſequences. Conceſſion, however, prevailed; and Fairfax having encountered the Kentiſh forces on Blackheath with ſeven regiments (aided by the terror inſpired by the recent defeat at Maidſtone), drove them back to Rocheſter, where Lord Goring again made head, and proceeded to Graveſend, whilſt other bodies of the ſame party took poſſeſſion of Canterbury, and endeavoured to ſurpriſe Dover; but being there defeated in his plan, Goring was obliged to croſs the Thames, and raiſe his ſtandard in Eſſex. Here he was joined by Lord Capel with the royaliſts from Hertfordſhire, and

* Lingard.

by Sir Charles Lucas with a body of horſe from Chelmsford, and he ultimately fixed his head-quarters at Colcheſter, which was ſoon after inveſted by Fairfax, and, although only ſurrounded by a low rampart of earth, ſucceſsfully defended, until the Scottiſh invaſion ſhowed the inutility of any longer prolonging the miſeries endured by the beſieged.

Simultaneouſly with theſe movements, riſings had alſo taken place in Wales, where the royaliſts ſecured Pembroke Caſtle; and it may be truly ſaid, that ſcarcely any portion of the kingdom was quiet, the whole north of England being likewiſe in a commotion, and a Scottiſh army preparing to croſs the border in favour of the king; whilſt a new tone had been imparted to the proceedings in Parliament, in conſequence of the abſence of the officers of the army, and the reſtoration of the excluded members. The lords, however, with a great profeſſion of liberality, ſtill refuſed their aſſent to the propoſed treaty, unleſs it was voted without any condition being impoſed upon his majeſty; and the Common Council offered an aſſurance that if the king were ſuffered to come to London, the city

would guarantee both the royal perſon and the two Houſes free from danger.

The royaliſts in the northern counties, in anticipation of the advance of the Duke of Hamilton, had reduced Berwick and Carliſle; and early in the month of July, the Duke redeemed his promiſe by croſſing the borders at the head of his army, leaving Munroe to follow with reinforcements in his rear. Hamilton was immediately joined by Sir Marmaduke Langdale with 4000 cavaliers, who had ſtaked their lives on the reſult; but theſe men being principally prelatiſts and papiſts, they unfortunately gave great offence, and created conſiderable diſſenſion in the Scottiſh hoſt; and as the Parliamentarian army in the north was too weak to riſk an encounter, it at firſt retired before Hamilton and Langdale, whoſe force, had it been commanded by a man of talent and enterpriſe, would doubtleſs ſoon have effected its purpoſe of replacing the king upon the throne.

Unluckily the intereſts of the ſervice and emergency of the occaſion were ſacrificed to jealouſies and feuds; and Cromwell having recovered Pembroke, and finiſhed his occupation in Wales, at once haſtened to ſuccour

Lilburn and Lambert. He made an energetic attack upon Langdale, and drove him back upon the main army near Preſton, which was alſo the next day ſo completely routed, that but few of the Scots returned to their native country, and Baillie, their general, ſurrendered at Warrington.

Langdale, in this extremity, ordered the infantry to diſperſe, and, accompanied by Hamilton, who had refuſed to abandon the Engliſh cavaliers, ſwam the river Ribble and reached Uttoxeter, where the royaliſts having diſbanded themſelves by command of their leaders, the duke was compelled to yield himſelf a priſoner to Lambert and Lord Grey of Groby. Langdale made his way to Nottingham, but was there recogniſed and taken in the diſguiſe of a female; he afterwards effected his eſcape by the aid of Lady Saville, who, by bribing the keepers, and procuring a clergyman's caſſock, enabled him to proceed to London, where he remained in ſafety for ſome time as an Iriſh miniſter driven from his cure by the Iriſh Catholics.*

During this time the royaliſts had likewiſe

* Lingard.

been ſtirring in the ſouth, as the Earl of Holland, who had ſerved and deſerted every party, once more veered round to the king's aſſiſtance, obtained a commiſſion from the Prince of Wales to raiſe forces, and engaged to co-operate with the Duke of Hamilton, by effecting a riſing in London at the juncture of his entering into England.

On the 5th of July, at the head of 500 horſe, he fixed his quarters at Kingſton-upon-Thames, and calling upon the citizens to join him, ſent meſſages to the Common Council and the Parliament, urging them to purſue a ſimilar courſe of action, and thus put an end to the calamities inflicted upon the nation.

As the citizens had ſuffered ſeverely in the recent riot, this call was but little heeded; and on the ſecond day, being ſurpriſed by Sir Michael Liveſey, he was, after a ſhort conflict, neceſſitated to flee with only a few attendants to St. Neots, where, after a renewed encounter with Colonel Scrope, he ſurrendered to his purſuers.

Although the reverſes of Holland created but little ſympathy, much compaſſion was excited at the fate of the Lord Francis Villiers, a young nobleman who had been perſuaded to join him,

in company with his brother, the Duke of Buckingham; the former of whom was ſlain at Kingſton, and the latter, after many hair-breadth eſcapes, ſucceeded in reaching the continent.

Theſe diſcomfitures were ſpeedily followed by the fall of Colcheſter, the laſt hope of the royaliſts, which, after a memorable ſiege of upwards of two months, ſurrendered at diſcretion on the 27th of Auguſt. Fairfax refuſed other terms, as the officers had been declared traitors by the Parliament, and ſullied his triumph by the deaths of Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Liſle. Goring, Capel, and Haſtings were reſerved for the judgment of Parliament, and committed to ſafe keeping in Windſor Caſtle, where, with the inefficient Hamilton, they had the opportunity of lamenting together the uſeleſs efforts of ill-concerted plans and precipitated engagements.

During the operation of theſe eventful occurrences, the king had been engaged in the vain endeavours to effect his eſcape from the oblivion of the impriſonment to which he ſeemed doomed —an impriſonment in which he was ſtill dreaded by his oppreſſors, and only ſuſtained by the attachment of his followers.

After the diſcovery of the laſt thwarted attempt, Hammond's firſt care was to iſſue the following regulations to Major Rolph, Captain Bowerman, Mr. Herbert, Mr. Mildmay, and Mr. Leigh, "in caſe he ſhould be detained by accident from doing his duty in accordance with his orders."

"By reaſon of any accident that may befal me in detaining me from the exerciſe of my duty, according to the truſt repoſed in me by the Parliament, my occaſions and duty alſo calling me abroad into the iſland, I have thought fit to appoint, and hereby do appoint, Captain Boreman and Major Rolph jointly, or, in the abſence of any one of them, the other ſingly, to act all things in relation to the ſecurity of his majeſty's perſon, and this caſtle, according to the inſtructions given to that purpoſe, in as full and ample manner as if myſelf were preſent; and in caſe of ſuch my abſence, I alſo appoint Mr. Herbert, Mr. Mildmay, Mr. Leigh, treaſurer, or any two of them, to take like care, and provide for the family in ſuch way as formerly by myſelf. And the ſaid Captain Boreman and Major Rolph for the ſoldiers, and Mr. Herbert, Mr. Mildmay, and Mr. Leigh for the family,

are hereby farther deſired by me ſo to act until the Parliament ſhall pleaſe otherwiſe to determine the matter. In witneſs whereunto I do hereto put my hand at Cariſbrook Caſtle this 2nd of June, 1648.

"Ro. Hammond."

By the apprehenſion and detention of Major Rolph, who, although poſſeſſed with the ſpirit of envy, and ſtriving for the reverſion of his appointment, was Hammond's principal adviſer and confidant, the difficulty of the governor's poſition was materially increaſed.

He even requeſted the Houſes of Parliament "to relieve him of the great burthen impoſed upon him;" but neglected to communicate this deſire to either his ſupporters in the army, or the committee at Derby Houſe, becauſe he was influenced rather by the promptings of the vice paramount in him, than the cauſe aſſigned. It was remarked by Rolph, in his aſſumed interview with Oſborn, that "the governor was a covetous man;" and here the cauſe of his diſſatisfaction aroſe; for rewards were conveyed through him to requite the ſervices of men who favoured and ſerved the Parliament, whilſt his

own annuity remained unpaid. His meaning was therefore well underſtood by the Commons, where the matter was at once ordered to be conſidered, and as, in a ſecond letter, he reiterated the ſame remark, but with the pregnant addition "that when he is thoroughly conſidered they ſhall find none more faithful to them, and none more obſervant of their commands, than he," a ſatisfactory ordinance was at once made, and no more complaints were received of the burthens impoſed on Colonel Hammond.

Diſraeli correctly ſays that, during theſe rapid events, "Hammond had become a more important perſonage than his real character would have made him;" but the aſſertion that from his cloſe connection with Cromwell and Ireton the Parliament ſuſpected his integrity, is one of more queſtionable authority. There are no data for ſuch a concluſion; for the votes and debates in the Houſe of Commons rather evidence a contrary feeling towards him; and quite as difficult is it to diſcover what favours Hammond had heretofore received from the king, or which of his actions in connection with the ſurveillance of his majeſty conſtituted him a man of honour.

He procured the impriſonment of his own uncle, the king's favourite chaplain; and with the ready aſſiſtance of Rolph and Bowerman, after the firſt ſix weeks of Charles's reſidence at Cariſbrook, took an ungenerous advantage by treating him not only with contumely and neglect, but unneceſſary rigour and inſolence.

The motives for ſo doing were buried with him, but his actions remain on record againſt him. His endeavours clearly were to accord with both the army and the Parliament for his own ultimate advantage; but by the army he was afterwards impriſoned and neglected, and the Parliament only rewarded him with a commiſſionerſhip in Ireland, where he died on the 24th of October, 1654.

The Iſle of Wight had, by the month of June, 1648, gradually become one vaſt garriſon, as continued demands were made by Hammond for reinforcements, and as conſtantly acceded to by the committee. On the 23rd of this month 500 men were ſent thither from the general's army, which was ordered to recruit for a like number, whilſt the ſame day the governor is found again applying to the authorities for a ſtill greater number, and urging as his reaſon

the intelligence he had received of its being the intention of the revolted ſhips to bring over men to invade the iſland, "which, if it ſo occur," he ſays, "the iſlanders, not being able to defend themſelves (he ſhould have written, not willing), would be obligated to join with them, by which means they would be able to keep off any forces of the Parliament that might be ſent to relieve the caſtle." By the ſame poſt he likewiſe importuned Fairfax, and aſked that a reinforcement of 300 horſe and 1500 foot at leaſt might be ſpeedily ſent to him, "*ſure men*," for, if otherwiſe, "it would be much in their power to undo him [Hammond], and the kingdom alſo, as he was in danger to have found by late experience."

This alarm ſeems alſo to have pervaded the committee at Derby Houſe; for on the 30th of June they intimated to the governor, on creditable information, "that the fleet had received a reinforcement of 1000 landſmen under the command of Lord Willoughby of Parham, preparatory to an attack on the iſland; that the Lord Rich* who had received a paſs from the

* Lord Rich was the eldeſt ſon of the Earl of Warwick, (lord high admiral under the Long Parliament,) whom he ſucceeded in his title and eſtates in 1658. His only ſon, Robert,

Commons to proceed to the king under the pretence of being touched for the evil, was, in truth, only deſirous of treating with him reſpecting the Earl of Holland, who at this time was heading the royaliſts in Surrey, and that they believed the forces which had been collected by Holland were intended to proceed to the iſland —information they apprized him of, to the intent he might put himſelf into a poſition to prevent their landing, which, as there were but few places where ſuch a procedure was feaſible, they ſuppoſed he would find no difficulty in doing, and eſpecially admoniſhed him to prevent all boats leaving the iſland during the time theſe rumours were abroad."

For theſe apprehenſions there were, however, legitimate cauſes of concernment, as the Prince of Wales (ſuppoſing we have reached the 20th of July, 1648) had been more than ſix weeks in the Downs with a good fleet—the Engliſh ſhips which had deſerted and ſeveral others he had procured in Holland,—in all nineteen ſail. Men naturally imagined the ſon's firſt care would have been the liberation of his father

married Frances, youngeſt daughter of the Protector, but died before his father.

from Cariſbrook, and there is little doubt, if he had appeared before the Iſle of Wight, but that Charles would have recovered his freedom.

The council, with the prince, unfortunately decided it was more to the royal intereſt to ſail to the mouth of the river Thames, and there endeavour to enliſt the wavering diſpoſition of the city and the Parliament. While the Scottiſh forces were advancing, this ſeemed a favourable determination; but their deſtruction extinguiſhed every hope. The king, by a private meſſage, ſuggeſted that, before their departure from the coaſt, they ſhould free him from his captivity;* and Lord Clarendon plainly ſays, that, as no attempt was made to accompliſh his liberation, it is certain the perſon of the hapleſs monarch was little cared for. This, however, was not ſo. The mariners were actually maſters of the fleet; and in the deſire to engage the hoſtile force under the command of Warwick, they forgot all other claims on their poſition. This engagement he ſtudiouſly avoided, and, by different manœuvres, eluded their purſuit until the prince

* Lingard.

was compelled, by a want of ſupplies, to ſteer for the coaſt of Holland.

The feeling of the majority of the iſlanders, both from principle and preſent ſituation, oppreſſed as they were by the numerous military exactions levied on them, was now ſo diametrically oppoſed to the intereſts of the army, that the prince would have been joyfully ſeconded by them, if the attempt which appeared ſo probable, and ſo incumbent on him to endeavour, had been made. The ſummer throughout was wet and boiſterous, proviſions grew remarkably dear, and in common with the kingdom at large their ſenſibilities were becoming conſiderably agitated on behalf of a ſovereign degraded and languiſhing within ſight of their very homes.

To counterpoiſe theſe unfavourable ſymptoms, Hammond uſed every exertion and adopted every available meaſure of preparation anticipatory of a colliſion. Cowes, Yarmouth, and Sandown forts were well ſupplied with proviſions and ammunition; the friends of the Parliament were allowed to arm and prepare horſe for defence, and the miniſters from their pulpits were ordered to be forward and ſerviceable in

inſtilling into their hearers a conſideration of the danger they would be expoſed to "if the common adverſary ſhould prevail."

The deliverance of the king's perſon having failed from the cauſes aſſigned, the great perſecutions and petty malignity he endured with inherent dignity, again become matter for conſideration; eſpecially, as their notoriety is confirmed by almoſt endleſs cotemporary teſtimonies, ſome of them, certainly, uncharitably embelliſhed by the inventive fancy of the propagators, but the greater portion perfectly free from the reach of ſuch ſuſpicion.

His condition, for a time, was deſolate in the extreme, as the arrangements for communication with his friends, by the laſt miſchance, had been completely diſarranged and fruſtrated. His exiſtence, in truth, was become one dull monotonous return of day and night; and as the grated window rendered little that could engage his attention, reſignation to his books offered the only ſubſtitute for more invigorating avocations. In this unvaried interval of ſorrow and quiet, Mr. Herbert was the only one of his faithful ſervants permitted to remain in attendance on him, and his care has preſerved ſome

intereſting reminiſcences of the employments of Charles at this very juncture.

Writing of the king's purſuits, he remarks, "His majeſty gave Mr. Herbert the charge of his books, of which the king had a catalogue, and, from time to time, had brought unto him ſuch as he was pleaſed to call for.

"The Sacred Scriptures was the book he moſt delighted in; and often read in Biſhop Andrews' Sermons, Hooker's Eccleſiaſtical Polity, Dr. Hammond's Works, Villalpandus upon Ezekiel, &c., Laud's Paraphraſe upon King David's Pſalms, Herbert's Divine Poems; and alſo Godfrey of Bulloigne, writ in Italian by Torquato Taſſo, and done into Engliſh Heroic Verſe by Mr. Fairfax, a poem his majeſty much commended, as he did alſo Arioſto, by Sir John Harrington, a facetious poet, much eſteemed of by the Prince Henry his maſter, Spencer's Faery Queen, and the like, for alleviating his ſpirits after ſerious ſtudies. And at this time, it was (as is preſumed) he compoſed his book called "Suſpiria Regalia," publiſhed ſoon after his death, and entitled "The King's Portraiture in his Solitudes and Sufferings," which MSS. Mr. Herbert found among thoſe

books his majeſty was pleaſed to give him, thoſe excepted which he bequeathed to his children; in regard Mr. Herbert, though he did not ſee the king write that book, his majeſty being always private when he writ, and thoſe his ſervants never coming into his bedchamber when the king was private until called; yet, comparing it with his handwriting in other things, found it ſo very like, as induces his belief that it was his own handwriting, having ſeen much of the king's writing before.

"In many of his books, he delighted himſelf with the motto, *Dum Spiro Spero*, which he wrote frequently as the emblem of his hopes, as well as endeavours for a happy agreement with his Parliament.

"In one of his books he wrote this diſtich:—

> "Rebus in adverſis facile eſt contemnere vitam;
> Fortiter ille facit qui miſer eſſe poteſt."

And out of another poet, againſt the levelling and anti-monarchic ſpirit which predominated at the time—

> "Fallitur egregio quiſquis ſub Principe credit
> Servitum; nunquam Libertas gratior extat
> Quam ſub Rege pio."
>
> CLAUDIAN.

with many others which are memorable, and expreſs his delight in learning. For he underſtood authors in their originals, whether Greek, Latin, French, Spaniſh, or Italian, which three laſt he ſpoke perfectly, and none better read in hiſtories of all ſorts, which rendered him accompliſhed; and alſo would diſcourſe well in arts and sciences; and indeed, not unfitted for any ſubject."

It is generally admitted that the underſtanding of Charles was far from deſpicable, much talent being diſplayed in a ponderous volume, entitled *ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΑ*, the words of King Charles the Martyr, although it is doubtful if much that is there rendered actually proceeded from his pen, a doubt which has given riſe to many controverſies, and elicited many learned diſputations. Whether Charles was actually the author of "Icon Baſilike," is a queſtion that has been frequently canvaſſed, and, as there are probabilities on both ſides, one difficult to reſolve. It is however univerſally allowed, that whether the book was compoſed by the king, or by ſome other perſon in his name, it evidently contains his opinion of things, is well written, and was ſerviceable to his memory. The poem here

appended, is acknowledged to have been written by Charles, at Cariſbrook; and although ſomewhat long, will not only enable the reader to judge of the poetical talents of the king, but alſo afford a vivid expoſition of his feelings at the time this narrative has now reached. It is entitled—

"MAJESTY IN MISERY: OR AN IMPLORATION TO THE KING OF KINGS.

"Great monarch of the world, from whoſe power ſprings
The potency and power of Kings,
Record the Royal woe my ſuffering ſings;

And teach my tongue, that ever did confine
Its faculties in truth's ſeraphic line
To track the treaſons of thy foes and mine.

Nature and law, by thy divine decree
(The only root of righteous Royaltie)
With this dim diadem inveſted me:

With it the ſacred Sceptre, purple Robe
The holy Unction and the Royal Globe:
Yet I am levell'd with the life of Job.

The fierceſt furies, that do daily tread
Upon my grief, my gray diſcrowned head,
Are thoſe that owe my bounty for their bread.

They raiſe a war and chriſten it *the cauſe*,
Whilſt ſacrilegious hands have beſt applauſe,
Plunder and murder are the Kingdom's laws;

Tyranny bears the title of taxation,
Revenge and robbery are reformation,
Oppreſſion gains the name of ſequeſtration.

My loyal ſubjects who in this bad ſeaſon
Attend me (by the law of God and reaſon),
They dare impeach and puniſh for high treaſon.

Next at the clergy do their furies frown,
Pious epiſcopacy muſt go down,
They will deſtroy the crozier and the crown.

Churchmen are chained, and ſchiſmatics are freed;
Mechanics preach, and holy fathers bleed.
The crown is crucified with the creed.

The Church of England doth all faction foſter,
The pulpit is uſurpt by each impoſtor,
Extempore excludes the *paternoſter.*

The Preſbyter and Independent ſeed
Springs with broad blades, to make religion bleed
Herod and Pontius Pilate are agreed.

The corner-ſtone's miſplaced by every paviour.
With ſuch a bloody method and behaviour
Their anceſtors did crucify our Saviour.

My Royal conſort, from whoſe fruitful womb
So many princes legally have come,
Is forced in pilgrimage to ſeek a tomb.

Great Britain's heir is forced into *France*
Whilſt on his father's head her foes advance.
Poor child! he weeps out his inheritance.

With my own power my majeſty they wound,
In the King's name the King himself's uncrown'd.
So doth the duſt deſtroy the diamond.

With propoſitions daily they enchant
My people's ears, ſuch as do reaſon daunt
And the Almighty will not let me grant.

They promiſe to erect my royal ſtem
To make me great, t' advance my diadem
If I will firſt fall down and worſhip them!

But for refuſal they devour my thrones,
Diſtreſs my Children and deſtroy my bones.
I fear they'll force me to make bread of ſtones.

My life the prize at ſuch a ſlender rate
That in my abſence they draw bills of hate
To prove the King a traitor to the ſtate.

Felons obtain more privilege than I.
They are allowed to anſwer ere they die,
'Tis death for me to aſk the reaſon why.

But, ſacred Saviour, with thy words I woo
Thee to forgive, and not be bitter to
Such, as thou know'ſt do not know what they do.

For ſince they from their Lord are ſo diſjointed
As to contemn thoſe edicts he appointed,
How can they prize the power of his anointed?

Augment my patience, nullify my hate,
Preſerve my iſſue, and inſpire my mate.
Yet though we periſh, bleſs the church and ſtate."

Dr. Burnett ſtates, he was enabled to copy the poem from the original; and obſerves, "that the mighty ſenſe and great piety of it will be found to be beyond all the fineſt ſublimities of poetry, which yet are not wanting here." *

By the teſtimony of Sir Philip Warwick, it would appear that even the perſonal attentions

* "Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton."

of Herbert were ſoon interdicted, as he obſerves: "Being in the room with the king, at Newport, (at the time of the Treaty) he beckoned me, and ſhowed me in the ſtreet an old little crumpling man, and aſkt me whether I knew him: No, ſir, (ſaid I,) I never ſaw him before. I ſhew him you, (ſays he,) becauſe that was the beſt companion I had for three months together in Cariſbrook Caſtle, where he made my fires."

The domeſtic privations of Charles were alſo not inconſiderable; for Warwick likewiſe remarks that, "obſerving him to drink two parts of water and one of ſack, I preſumed to aſk how he came to leave French wine. He told me they afforded him not good, and then he thought this the better beverage; nay, ſays he, whilſt I have been here among them I have wanted linen, which though I took notice of I never complained." A fact corroborated by Hammond himſelf, who, in a letter, dated as early as the 15th of April, draws the attention of the committee to the circumſtance.

His hair had become grey in the preponderance of mental anxiety and deprivation; perſonal neglect had deranged his manners, clouded his countenance, and proved him ſorrowfully

conſcious of the dark proſpect which was rapidly enſuing, when his pitiable condition excited the sympathies of an humble attendant, whoſe taſk it was to perform a menial office in his majeſty's room, and by her aſſiſtance an intercourſe with Titus and his faithful confidants was again effected.

Number XV.

"Saterday, 1 July 1648.

"W.

"I have newly receaued yours of the 22 June, for w^ch^ I know not whether my aſtoneſhment or my joy were the greater; for indeed, I did diſpaire of hearing any more from you, or any other of my ffrends, during theaſe damnable tymes, without blaming anything but my owen misfortune; w^ch^ makes me the more obliged to your kyndneſs and induſtry for hauing found meanes to conuey a letter to me: I thank you for your Newes; w^ch^ does much agree with what the Gouernor doth us the fauor to let us know; only we heere doe belive all the Gallant honneſt men in Colcheſter infallibly loſt; though yet they hould out: and we have heard nothing concerning the votes of the Co$\bar{m}$on Councell.

I am glad to hear of the welfaire of Z & L (*Worſley and Oſborn*) for I feared that they had been in ſome diſorder, to whom I pray you comend me hartely; as lykewaiſe to all the reſt of my ffrends: and particuly to 715 (*Mrs. Whorwood*), telling 187 (*her*) that I hope 24: 63: 186 (*ſhe*) knowes before this, how it was not my falt that I did [not] waite upon 187 (*her*) according to my promiſe, for which you may aſſeure 715 (*Mrs. Whorwood*) that I was and am uery much greeved.

"Tuching the writings for O. Rogers, I know not what you meane; and though I did, at this time, I would not ſend you them, being not confident that this will come ſafe to you; but how ſoone I can haue any probable aſſeurance of a ſafe conueance I ſhall not fail to ſend you what Papers you ſhall deſyre, as alſo letters to dyuers of my frends, and ſo I reſt

"Your moſt aſſeured reall frend,

"J."

117 : 465 : 71 : 78 : 363 : 209 : 349
72 : 91 : 31 : 92 : 50 : 136 : 96 : 10:
32 : 93 : 51 : 109 : 377 : 359 : 292:
84 : 33 : 136 : 94 : 109 : 279 : 251 :

174 : 66 : 44 : 369 : (*be content that I ſhall neuer diſcouer any thing to prejudiſe any of my friends' truſt.*)

Comment on feelings ſo ſenſitively expreſſed would be here uſeleſs, eſpecially as the reſult of the other topics alluded to by his majeſty has been already detailed; but, with an incident he had rather hoped for than deemed poſſible (the unexpected realization of a contrivance for ſecuring intelligence from his friends) his ſelf-control partly returned; the dejection cauſed by his adverſity diminiſhed itſelf in the anxious cares which the renewed intercourſe created; and he buoyed himſelf up in the expectation that a renewed attempt for ſuccouring and liberating him would immediately follow.

As Charles gradually recovered ſome degree of his uſual equanimity, he became enabled to look more ſteadily on the poſition in which he now ſtood; and hearing that the endeavours of the preſbyterian party in the two Houſes of Parliament were urging the ſettlement of a treaty with him, he decided on ſending a private communication to the Speakers, ſoliciting them to ſtate their deſires, as by ſuch a courſe he

imagined he might ſucceed in conciliating the opinions of thoſe anxious for a compromiſe, and perhaps facilitate the neceſſary preliminaries for the tranſaction.

Mr. Herbert, to whom this deſpatch, together with a letter to the Princeſs Elizabeth, then at St. James' Houſe, Whitehall, was intruſted for delivery, minutely narrates that the wind was not favourable, and he had therefore "much ado to croſs the ſea from Cowes to Southampton; but in regard the king had ordered him to make haſte, ſo as the letter might be delivered the next day before the Houſes roſe, no delay was ſuffered." Being landed, he immediately took poſt for London.

"It may not be forgotten that at one ſtage, the poſtmaſter (a malevolent perſon), having notice that he came from the king, and required extraordinary ſpeed, mounted him upon a horſe that had neither good eyes nor feet, ſo as he uſually ſtumbled very much, which with the deep ways and dark nights, in all probability might have abated his ſpeed; but through God's goodneſs the horſe, though at his full gallop moſt part of that twelve miles riding, neither ſtumbled nor fell, which at the next ſtage was admired."

The king's packet was delivered to the Speaker of the Houſe of Lords within the time limited, which done, he waited (by permiſſion) upon the Princeſs Elizabeth, who gave him her hand to kiſs, being overjoyed with her royal father's kind letter, to which ſhe returned another by Mr. Herbert, who had the king's approbation, at his coming to Cariſbrook, for his diligence.

There were, at that time, living in Newport, two gentlemen, Mr. William Hopkins, maſter of the grammar ſchool, and his ſon, both ſtrongly imbued with a ſtrong predilection for the royal cauſe; and the impriſonment of Rolph, coupled with the frequent abſence of Hammond in other parts of the iſland, having allowed of ſome relaxation in the military regulations enforced at the caſtle, Mr. Hopkins not only availed himſelf of the aid of the woman already alluded to for carrying on a cloſe correſpondence with the king, but in company with Mrs. Whorwood, who had recently come to Newport, procured ſome ſecret interviews with him.

This correspondence was printed by Wagſtaffe in the laſt edition of his "Vindication of the Royal Martyr," and reveals the fact, in connection with other authorities, that with the

king's concurrence, an extended conſpiracy had been organized in the iſland for the purpoſe of diſarming the military, and by an arranged ſtratagem ſeizing upon the governor and the caſtle, if the Prince of Wales had appeared off the coaſt.

With the uſual fatality attendant on every incident in the life of the unfortunate monarch, this was not done; and on ſome rumours of the diſaffection which exiſted in the iſland reaching the committee, their exertions ſoon enabled them to inform Hammond of the medium through which the king's correſpondence, aided by the endeavours of Titus and Boſville, had been re-arranged, and that there was ſtill a hope of effecting his eſcape by the aid of a "little ancient man, and a luſty ſtout young man about 26 or 27 years of age," (probably the two Hopkins,) the place of landing to be near Goſport.

In fact, his friends were again vigorouſly battling his freedom when the critical event arrived which had been ſo long the conſtant object of his wiſhes,—the offer of a perſonal treaty; for, towards the end of July, the Commons having yielded to the obſtinacy of the Lords, the vote of non-addreſſes was repealed,

and there is no doubt but for the intervention of Cromwell's deciſive victories, the ruin of Hamilton, and other contingent circumſtances which revived the courage and hopes of the Independents, and the fears and miſgivings of the Presbyterians, that Charles would have been brought to London, and there treated with unreſervedly.

Information of this important fact was ſoon tranſmitted to Cariſbrook, and on the 5th of Auguſt the king was officially waited on by the Earl of Middleſex, Sir John Hippiſley, and John Bulkeley, Eſq., who informed him that the Parliament had agreed to a perſonal treaty with him at Newport, in the Iſle of Wight, where he ſhould be in the ſame ſtate and freedom as he was at Hampton Court, but that no perſons excepted by the Parliament from pardon, under reſtraint, in actual war againſt the Parliament, or in ſuch numbers as would cauſe ſuſpicion, could be ſuffered to come into the iſland during his reſidence at Newport.

That no ſtranger or foreigner would be permitted to go into his preſence without an order from Parliament, but that if he wiſhed any of the Scottiſh nation to adviſe with him, the

governor would be authoriſed to permit their coming.

That Colonel Hammond was to provide a ſufficient guard for the ſafety of the Iſle of Wight, and to hinder the taking away his perſon from thence.

And that they were allotted ten days for their going, ſtay, and return.

With theſe commiſſioners, under the authority of a paſs from the Houſes of Parliament, came alſo Captain Titus, Uriah Babington, the king's ſworn barber, and Sir Peter Killigrew; and, as much of the reſtraint which had been impoſed upon Charles was removed by the repeal of the vote of non-addreſſes, Cariſbrook put on a more cheerful appearance than it had exhibited for ſome months.

Herbert remarks that, on the introduction of the commiſſioners to the king, he in the firſt place gave them his hand to kiſs, and told them "that their addreſs being in order to peace, doubled their welcome; peace being the thing he earneſtly deſired:" and then aſſured them withal "that if upon the treaty, peace did not enſue, it ſhould be no fault of his—he would not be blamed."

In the calamitous ſtate of the king's affairs, there ſeemed to be ſome hope that, by this propoſed treaty, he would be once more reſtored to his former condition; and therefore, after the interchange of ſome preliminary correſpondence, on Thurſday, the 10th of Auguſt, he ſignified to the commiſſioners his acceptance of the Parliamentary propoſition. The room was full of ladies, and he expreſsly ſaid that "the laſt meſſage he ſent was delivered to the commiſſioners ſealed, and if it had been ſo preſented to the Houſes it would have been better for him; but he now thought fit to ſend this open, for he thought he could not be in a worſe condition than he was, being under ſuch cloſe reſtraint, none being ſuffered to ſpeak a word without ſuſpicion."

On the receipt of this meſſage, a vote of the Lords and Commons was immediately paſſed, which requeſted his majeſty to send the names of ſuch perſons "as he ſhall conceive to be of neceſſary uſe to be about him during this Treaty."

"That the Houſes agreed that ſuch domeſtic ſervants (not excepted in the former limitations) as his majeſty ſhould appoint, were to be ſent to him.

"And that the time of the commencement of Treaty, was to be within ten days after the king's aſſent to treat, and to continue forty days;" with ſome other reſolutions of minor import.

As the communications from the Parliament to Hammond had only intimated that the vote of non-addreſſes had been repealed, he did not conceive himſelf juſtified in permitting the king to leave the bounds of the caſtle, until he received an expreſs order from the Houſes to that effect, as he was detained there under the authority of a ſubſequent ordinance.

On the 15th of September, therefore, to relieve this difficulty, it was reſolved that the orders concerning his majeſty's reſtraint in Cariſbrook Caſtle ſhould be revoked; and after more than eight months of durance and tribulation, ſuch as few kings, and even few men, have experienced, Charles was allowed to quit the fortreſs; although he ſoon diſcovered, that though apparently reſtored to freedom, ſo little reliance was placed on his word, that a troop of horſe was ever hovering about him when he was abroad.*

* Aſhmole's MSS.

On receiving the king's concurrence to the votes of the Houſes, reſolutions were at once propounded and agreed on, confirming the arrangements propoſed; and that "his majeſty be deſired to paſs his royal word to make his conſtant reſidence in the Iſle of Wight, from the time of his aſſenting to treat, until twenty days after the treaty ended, unleſs it be otherwiſe deſired by both Houſes of Parliament. And that Colonel Hammond be authoriſed to receive his royal word paſſed to the two Houſes of Parliament, for his reſidence in the Iſle of Wight, according as is formerly expreſſed."

This neceſſary precaution having been duly enforced, the inſtructtions iſſued to Hammond on the 16th November, 1647, were at once recalled, and freſh regulations, founded on the agreement thus perfected with the king, forwarded to him for his guidance and direction.

The names and occupations of perſons whoſe preſence was deſired by his majeſty, are preſerved in the Journals of the Houſes of Parliament, and the original liſt in the autograph of the king, together with the letter which accompanied it to the Earl of Mancheſter, as Speaker of

the Houſe of Peers, in the MSS. of the Britiſh Museum.*

The ſelection was as follows:—

Gentlemen of his Bedchamber.—The Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earl of Lindſay, the Earl of Southampton.

Grooms of his Chamber.—George Kirke, James Levington, Henry Murray, Jno. Aſhburnham, William Legg.

Barber.—Thos. Davis.

Pages of the Backſtairs. — Hugh Henn, Hum. Rogers, Willm. Levitt.

Yeomen of the Robes.— —. Rives.

Equerries.—Sir Ed. Sydenham, Rob. Tirwitt, John Houſdon (*with 4 or 6 footmen, as they ſhould find fitteſt, to wait*).

Laundreſs.—Mrs. Wheeler (*with ſuch maids as ſhe ſhall chooſe*).

Groom of the preſence.—

Perſons to wait as they did, or as his majeſty ſhould appoint them. — Sir Foulke Greville, Captn. Titus, Captn. Burroughes, Mr. Creſſet, —. Hanſtead, Ab. Dowcett, —. Fyrebraſſe.

Chaplains.—Biſhop of London, Biſhop of Saliſbury, Doctor Sheldon, Doctor Hammond,

* Additional MSS. 11,252.

Doctor Ouldſworth, Doctor Saunderſon, Doctor Turner, Doctor Haywood.

Lawyers.—Sir Thos. Gardiner, Sir Or. Bridgeman, Sir Ro. Oſbourne, Mr. Je. Palmer, Mr. Tho. Cooke, Mr. Jo. Vaughan.

Clerks and Writers.—Sir Edward Walker, Mr. Philip Warwick, Jno. Oudart, Chas. Whitaker.

To make ready the Houſe for treaty.—Peter Newton and Clem. Kennerſley.

Advocates.—Dr. Duck, —. Rives (*in an after communication*).

The Parliament conſented to the attendance of all theſe perſons with the exception of "Dowcett, who was alleged to be under reſtraint; Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Holdſworth, who were likewiſe under reſtraint; and Mr. John Aſhburnham, and Col. Legg, the firſt of whom was an exception from pardon, and Col. Legg being under reſtraint."

The friends and attendants of the king were, therefore, not long before they once more rejoined their old maſter; "all haſtened and took their places in the ſmall houſe at Newport, and the deluſive ſcenery of a court on a ſudden ſeemed to have crowded round the lone man as

in a pleaſant dream;" but, remarks Hume, "a great and ſenſible alteration was remarked in his aſpect, from what it appeared the year before, when he reſided at Hampton Court; as, from the moment his ſervants had been removed, he had laid aſide all care of his perſon, had allowed his hair and beard to grow, and to hang diſhevelled and neglected—his hair was become almoſt entirely grey, either from the decline of years, or from that load of ſorrows under which he laboured; and which, though borne with conſtancy, preyed inwardly on his ſenſible and tender mind:" a change beheld with compaſſion by his friends, and perhaps even by his enemies.

Firebrace writes, "When the treaty was voted, amongſt thoſe his majeſty named to attend him I had the honour to be one; of which he was pleaſed to give me notice, by a letter, and commanded me to make haſte to him. I no ſooner arrived, than his majeſty told me I ſhould attend him as I did before, which was page of the bedchamber and clerk of the kitchen; for that there muſt be ſeveral diets at the treaty, and he would have me undertake it, in order to ſomething better he intended for me.

"I deſired to be excuſed, as not at all under-

ſtanding the employment. He was pleaſed to tell me he would inſtruct me (which in earneſt he did). Within two or three days, I heard that a gentleman, one of his majeſty's clerks of the kitchen, was come to Newport, in expectation to wait in his employment, and then I deſired his majeſty that he might wait accordingly, I being unſkilful. He was pleaſed to tell me again I ſhould undertake it, and that that gentleman ſhould wait as comptroller, as accordingly he did."

The eſtimated expenſes of this Treaty amounted to the ſum of 10,000*l.*, lent for that purpoſe by the City of London, of which 6000*l.* were on the 13th of September ordered to be paid for the king's charges, together with 500*l.* to Sir Edward Sydenham, Captain Titus, and Mr. Tirwhit, to provide coaches and horſes, footmen's liveries, ſtable requiſites, &c., for his majeſty's uſe; and the court being thus ſettled in the houſe of Mr. Hopkins,* the Free Grammar School of Newport, which had been ſelected by his majeſty, preparations were at once made in the town-hall for conducting the Treaty,

* Mr. Hopkins was, at this time, knighted by the king, for his ſervices.

and at the Bull Inn,* for the reception of the commiſſioners appointed by the Parliament to meet the king on their behalf.

Theſe commiſſioners were fifteen in number: the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Middleſex, the Earl of Saliſbury, and the Lord Viſcounts Say and Seale on the part of the Lords: and Thomas Lord Wainman, Mr. Denzill Hollis, Mr. William Pierrepont, Sir Henry Vane, Jun., Sir Harbottle Grimſton, Sir John Potts, Mr. John Crew, Mr. Saml. Browne, Mr. John Glynn, recorder of London, and Mr. John Bulkeley, members of the Houſe of Commons; men permitted to argue, to adviſe, to entreat, but having no power given them to concede, as their inſtructions bound them to inſiſt on the king's aſſent to every propoſition which had been ſubmitted to his conſideration at Hampton Court.

Burnett ſtates "that Vane, Pierrepont, and others, went to the treaty on purpoſe to delay matters till the army could be brought up to

* This ſign was afterwards replaced by that of the Bugle, although the Bull is ſtill uſed as the cogniſance of the inn, on vehicles belonging to it.

London; and all that wiſhed well to the treaty, prayed the king at their firſt coming to diſpatch the buſineſs with all poſſible haſte, and to grant the firſt day all that he could bring himſelf to grant on the laſt; Hollis and Grimſton telling him (Burnett), they had both on their knees begged this of the king. They ſaid, they knew Vane would ſtudy to draw out the treaty to a great length; and he who declared for an unbounded liberty of conſcience, would try to gain on the king's party, by the offer of a toleration for the common prayer and the epiſcopal clergy. His deſign in that, was to gain time till Cromwell ſhould ſettle Scotland and return from the north. But they ſaid, if the king would frankly come in without the formality of papers backward and forward, and ſend them back next day with the conceſſions which were abſolutely neceſſary, they did not doubt but that, in a few days, he ſhould be brought up with honour, freedom, and ſafety to the Parliament, and that matters ſhould be brought to a preſent ſettlement. Titus, who was then much truſted by the king, and employed in a negociation with the Preſbyterian party, told me he had ſpoken often and earneſtly with him in

the ſame ſtrain, but the king would not come to a reſolution; and he ſtill fancied that in the ſtruggle between the Houſe of Commons and the army, both ſaw they needed him ſo much to give them the ſuperior ſtrength, that he imagined by balancing them, he would bring both ſides into a greater dependence on himſelf, and force them to better terms. In this Vane flattered the epiſcopal party to the king's ruin, as well as their own. But they ſtill hated the Preſbyterians as the firſt authors of the war, and seemed unwilling to think well of them, or to be beholden to them. Thus the treaty went on with a fatal ſlowneſs; and by the time it was come to maturity, Cromwell came up with his army and overturned all."

Tueſday, the 12th of September, was appointed as a day of public humiliation "by the members of both Houſes, and in all the churches and chapels within the lines of communication and weekly bills of mortality, to ſeek God earneſtly for a bleſſing upon the Treaty of Newport;" and on the 15th of the ſame month the commiſſioners, after being entertained by the authorities at Southampton, croſſed to Cowes, where, on their arrival about two o'clock, they

were received by Colonel Hammond, and with "ſeveral vollies of ſhot."

The ſucceeding day, Saturday, was likewiſe obſerved by the king as a faſt; and, after the morning ſervice, the commiſſioners were admitted to an audience, and permitted to kiſs his hand. On the announcement of their miſſion, Charles feelingly ſaid,

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I am glad that you are come to treat with me for the ſettling of my poor bleeding kingdom in peace. I pray God to perfect this bleſſed work, which I ſhall on my part labour for, and I hope my Parliament and you will do the like. As for me, I ſhall not ſeek revenge againſt any, nor give occaſion of delays, deſiring that there may be no procraſtination of time, but there being now only the broken piece of a day, and that the laſt day of the week too, I deſire that the treaty may not begin now, but that we may meet by 9 o'clock on Monday morn, and from thence the treaty to commence. And I pray God to give a bleſſing upon our meetings, that there may be no more blood ſpilt in this kingdom."

From this time the Lords and Commons waited on the king with great outward ſhow of duty and reſpect; and, obſerves Clarendon, "though none of them durſt adventure to ſee the king in private, they communicated freely with ſome of thoſe lords and others who, with the Parliament's leave, were come to attend the king during the time of the treaty; and ſo they found means to advertiſe his majeſty of many particulars, which they thought it neceſſary for him to know, which made impreſſion on him, as the information proceeded from perſons better or worſe affected to him."

On Monday, the 2nd October, 1648, this memorable treaty commenced in the (old) town-hall of Newport, then recently erected.

The commiſſioners aſſembled in a room appointed to their uſe at 9 o'clock in the morning, and after hearing prayers from Mr. Vines, one of their chaplains, ſent an intimation to the king "that they were ready to wait upon him at the treaty." His majeſty proceeded "from Mr. Hopkins' houſe to the treaty-chamber in ſtate, in his coach, with the lords and others in attendance on him, his coachman and footman having new ſuits with broad plate ſilver lace,

two in a ſeam," and, being ſeated, the commiſſioners entered bare-headed. The king then aroſe, and, taking off his hat, deſired them to be placed at the table, when they preſented their credentials, which authoriſed them to treat with him perſonally upon the propoſitions formerly offered at Hampton Court; and, as the king had frequently demanded a perſonal treaty, the commiſſioners decided that it ſhould be ſtrictly ſo, not admitting either peer or doctor to enter into the debates. "Charles was therefore compelled to encounter ſingly a hoſt of ſubtle diplomacy, and, what was worſe, another of the rabbins of the aſſembly of divines."

The arrangements were in this wiſe:—Under a canopy of ſtate, aſcended by ſteps, was ſeated the king, whilſt the commiſſioners were arrayed at ſome diſtance on either ſide of a long table; and immediately behind the king's chair ſtood the lords in waiting and his chaplains, together with Sir P. Warwick, Mr. Oudart, Sir Edward Walker, and others.

When his majeſty deſired to put a queſtion, or his friends wiſhed to offer a ſuggeſtion, he retired into a private apartment; and it ſometimes happened, as Sir Philip Warwick, one of

his ſecretaries, relates, "that ſome of his penmen who ſtood at his chair prayed from the lords to do ſo, but more liberty than this the attendants were not allowed. And I remember on one day he overdid himſelf, and it was upon the great article, whether he or the Parliament began the war, and, in effect, at whoſe door the blood ſhould lie? The king would have extinguiſhed the whole diſcourſe by acts of oblivion to both ſides, or by taking an equal ſhare, viz., by expreſſing that jealouſies had abruptly and unfortunately caſt them both into this engagement, and by acts of indemnity would have ſecured all; but where moſt guilt was, there was moſt difficulty to ſatisfy; and by no means would they waive an explanation of this article. The king retiring, I took the confidence to ſtep to my lord of Northumberland, and ſay to him, 'My good lord, remember how gracious this good prince hath been to you, and do you compaſſionate his diſtreſſes and the ſtrait he is now in;' and he civilly but poſitively replied, 'Sir, in this it is impoſſible for me to do anything; for the king in this point is ſafe, as king: but we cannot be ſo.' Two replies which the king made to two gentlemen that day were obſervable—the one to a gentleman who is now a lord,

who preſſed ſomewhat upon him hardly: 'A good nature, ſir (ſaid he), would not offer this you ſay, nor is it true logic;' and then made another kind of ingenious reply unto Mr. Buckley (who was a gentleman of that iſland, and now a commiſſioner, when he prayed the king to make a right uſe of this treaty, having promiſed him, that if a treaty could be procured for him, the malice of the devil ſhould not be able to break it): 'Conſider (ſays he), Mr. Buckley, if you call this a treaty, whether it be not like the fray in the comedy, where the man comes out and ſays there has been a fray and no fray, and being aſked how that could be, why, (ſays he) here hath been three blows given and I had them all. Look, therefore, whether this be not a parallel caſe. Obſerve whether I have not granted abſolutely moſt of your propoſitions, and with great moderation limited only ſome few of them; nay, conſider whether you have made me any one conceſſion, and whether, at this preſent moment, you have not confeſt to me, that though upon any propoſition you were all concurrently ſatisfied, yet till you had remitted them up to your ſuperiors, you had not the authority to concur with me in any one thing.'"

The mental powers which the king diſplayed in this treaty aſtoniſhed the commiſſioners. "The king is wonderfully improved," ſaid Lord Saliſbury to Sir P. Warwick. "No, my lord, it is your lordſhip who has too late diſcerned what he always was," was the reply. Sir Henry Vane alſo told Sir Edward Walker that they had been much deceived in the character of the king, whom they had conſidered a weak man; "but now," ſays he, "that we find him to be a perſon of great parts of abilities, we muſt the more conſider our own ſecurity, for he is only the more dangerous."

It has been already remarked that the commiſſioners had no power to ſettle any point, and that all the king's objections and propoſals were therefore transmitted to London, a procedure which cauſed conſiderable delay. Charles himſelf was alſo unfortunately too fond of diſcuſſion, in which he knew he excelled, ſo that matters were protracted even beyond the time originally allotted. The treaty was extended twenty additional days, and both the majority of the commiſſioners and his friends were urgent with him to concede all that was required in order to ſave himſelf from the army, to whoſe ulterior deſigns

no one at this time could be blind. On the 27th of November theſe remonſtrances prevailed, and his firmneſs gave way. He conſented to the demands he had hitherto ſtedfaſtly refuſed to acknowledge;—the abandonment of his friends, provided they were allowed the benefit of the ancient laws; the ſuſpenſion of the functions of the biſhops; and the inveſting their lands in the crown until religion ſhould be ſettled by the king and Parliament.

This arrangement having been concluded, the commiſſioners the next morning took their leave; and Charles, it is ſaid,* addreſſed them on parting, in theſe words:—"My lords, I believe we ſhall ſcarce ever ſee each other again. But God's will be done! I have made my peace with him, and ſhall undergo, without fear, whatever he may ſuffer men to do unto me. My lords, you cannot but know that in my fall and ruin you ſee your own, and that alſo near you. I pray God ſend you better friends than I have found. I am fully informed of the carriage of them that plot againſt me and mine; but nothing affects me ſo much as the feeling I have of the ſufferings of my ſubjects, and the

* Evelyn's "Memoirs."

miſchief that hangs over my three kingdoms, drawn upon them by thoſe who, upon pretence of good, violently purſue their own intereſts and ends."

Dr. Lingard obſerves, that the beſt account of this treaty is that compoſed by order of the king * himſelf, for the uſe of the Prince of Wales; but it is queſtionable if it was not the production of his own pen, for, as has been urged, with much juſtice, who could infuſe the paternal feeling and the deep perſonal emotion therein contained, but Charles himſelf?

In Peck's "Deſiderata," there is alſo publiſhed a diary of each day's occurrences during this remarkable controverſy, drawn up by Mr. Oudart; but as the ſubjects which are involved in the articles have little intereſt for the preſent generation, and as the endeavour of this narrative is rather to relate the paſſing incidents attendant on its procedure, than dilate on the ſubject-matter of the treaty itſelf, it is believed the following abſtract of the demands and conceſſions, as prepared by Mr. Oudart,† will

* See Clarendon's "State Papers," vol. ii.

† "Nicholas Oudart was born at Mechlin, in Brabant, and brought from beyond the ſeas by Sir Henry Wotton, who truſted

fully ſuffice to ſatisfy the reader; the ſources already mentioned being eaſily available for more extended illuſtration of this extraordinary conference.

ABSTRACT of the propoſition or demands of the Two Houſes, and his majeſty's conceſſions, at the Treaty, held at Newport, in the Iſle of Wight, 1648.

1. An Act for the repeal and nulling of all his majeſty's oaths, declarations, proclamations, &c., with a preface about the legality of the war on the Parliament's ſide.

him with his domeſtic affairs. He afterwards went with Sir William Boſwell, as his ſecretary, when appointed ambaſſador to the States in 1640, and there ſtudied medicine, of which faculty he was created a Bachelor at Oxford, in January 1642, about which time he became ſecretary to Sir Edward Nicholas, one of the ſecretaries of eſtate there (then compounding for its delinquency), and afterwards attended King Charles at Hampton Court, and at the treaty in the Iſle of Wight. After the execution of the king, Mr. Oudart lived in obſcurity for ſome time, but at length became ſecretary to the Princeſs of Orange, and one of her executors, ſhe giving him a high character in her will. He was afterwards Latin ſecretary to William, Prince of Orange, and one of his council, he being mentioned as ſuch in 1659, and then held the ſame appointment in the court of Charles the Second, dying in Little Dean's Yard, Weſtminſter, about Chriſtmas 1708."—Note in Peck's "Deſiderata."

Granted, as deſired, after a proviſo made on both ſides, that nothing agreed in this Treaty ſhould be binding, in caſe the ſame break off.

2. That the king take and enjoin the Covenant.

The Covenant, in fine, was not inſiſted upon.

3. An Act for aboliſhing archbiſhops, biſhops, deans, chapters, &c.

Granted, ſo that epiſcopacy only according to Scripture be preſerved. Yet the biſhops to be ſuſpended till the king and both Houſes (after conference with the aſſembly of divines, to which 20 to be added of the king's appointment) ſhould agree. The preſbyterian government to be eſtabliſhed in the interim.

4. An Act to confirm the ordinances for the calling and ſitting of the aſſembly of divines.

Granted, with the proviso for the 20 aforeſaid to be added by his majeſty.

5. An Act for reformation of religion according to the Covenant, as the Two Houſes have or ſhall agree.

Granted, as inviolable in the premiſes.

6. An Act to take away the Book of Common Prayer, and to make the ordinances about Acts.

Granted, as far as neceſſary, till the agreement.

7. An Act for ſettling the directory.

Granted, as deſired.

8. The Short Catechiſm to be approved.

Granted, as deſired.

9. An Act to abjure popery.

Granted, as deſired.

10. An Act for the education of papiſts' children.

Granted, as deſired.

11. An Act to levy penalties on papiſts.

Granted, as deſired.

12. An Act againſt the growth of popery and hearing maſs.

Granted, as deſired.

13. An Act for the obſervation of the Lord's day.

Granted, as deſired.

14. An Act for the ſuppreſſion of innovations.

Granted, as deſired.

15. An Act for the advancement of preaching.

Granted, as deſired.

16. An Act againſt pluralities and non-reſidence.

Granted, as deſired.

17. An Act for reforming and regulating the univerſities.

Granted, as deſired.

18. An Act or Acts to empower the Parliament to raiſe money to pay public debts and for other public uſes, as the Parliament ſhall agree, with a clauſe, if the king conſent not, yet the Act to bind all the ſubjects.

Granted, as deſired, for two years to come.

19. An Act for the Militia to be diſpoſed by both Houſes, both by ſea and land, for 20 years, with ſeveral powers to levy men and monies.

Granted, as deſired, for 20 years.

20. An Act to empower both Houſes to nominate all the great officers, counſellors, judges, &c., in England and Wales, for 20 years.

Granted, as deſired, for 20 years.

21. An Act for nulling and disabling peers to ſit in Parliament, who had been created ſince May, 1642.

Granted, as deſired.

22. An Act about delinquents in ſeveral branches.

All ſubmitted to compoſition as they could agree, but mitigation deſired. His majeſty's adherents not to bear office—ſome reſtrained from court and the Parliament, and others left to the known laws. The king's clergy to have the thirds; where diſpoſſeſſed to be reſtored to the livings when not poſſeſſed by others, and the ſcandalous left to cenſure.

23. An Act for ſtating public debts and the diſcovery of delinquents' eſtates.

Granted, as deſired.

24. An Act to render void the ceſſation of Ireland, and to ſettle the management of that war in both Houſes, with ſeveral branches.

Granted, as deſired, and the management for 20 years.

25. An Act ſettling religion there according to the Covenant.

Granted, as in England.

26. An Act nominating the chief officers there without limitation of time.

Granted for 20 years.

27. An Act for the Militia of London to

be in the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council.

Granted, as deſired.

28. An Act that the citizens be not drawn out of the city but by their own conſent.

Granted, as deſired.

29. An Act for the grant and confirmation of the charter and privileges of the City of London.

Granted, as deſired.

30. That the Laws made and to be made by the Common Council be to them as Acts of Parliament.

Granted, as deſired.

31. That all propoſitions which ſhall be made for London by both Houſes be paſſed into Acts.

Granted, as deſired.

32. An Act to authoriſe all Acts paſſed under the great ſeal made by the Two Houſes; and all done by any other ſince May 1642, to be vacated.

Granted, as deſired.

33. An Act for annulling all grants by the great ſeal of Ireland ſince 1643.

Granted, as in England.

34. An Act that the two ordinances of the Two Houſes, for the abolition of epiſcopacy and for the ſale of church lands, be made Acts of Parliament.

Reſpited; becauſe the firſt is included in the grant for taking all the hierarchy but biſhops, only; and the other anſwered in that in which his majeſty offereth the church lands to be ſettled in the crown in truſt for the clergy, charged with leaſes for ninety-nine years to ſatisfy purchaſers; reſerving a rent for the livelihood of ſuch to whom the ſame appertained.

35. An Act for taking away the Court of Wards.

Granted, as defired, ſo as 100,000*l.* per annum be anſwered to the crown in lieu of it.

(*Additional propoſitions after the* 40 *days.*)

36. That new delinquents upon the ſecond war ſhall pay one year's value more.

All left to compound as they can, but moderation deſired.

37. That agreements made and to be made with the Scots, be confirmed by Act of Parliament.

Granted for all paſt, and his majeſty will be willing to join with both Houſes for the future, for ſecuring the nations mutually.

38. That my Lord of Ormond be diſavowed and recalled.

Granted, if the treaty conclude well, and the marquis ſhould not then deſert. Meantime, a letter to be ſent to him from his majeſty to ceaſe, becauſe a treaty is hopefully begun, and clauſes in it about leaving that war to both Houſes.

The king's propoſitions were four:—

1. For his revenues, lands, and houſes to be returned.
2. A compenſation to be given him and his ſucceſſors for what he is now to part with.
3. That he be ſettled in a condition of honour, freedom, and ſafety.
4. That an Act of oblivion be paſſed, including all perſons.

All four granted by both Houſes with ſome limitations.

CHAPTER VII.

Deportment of the King during the Treaty—Overtures to Hammond by the Army, and his Recall to Windſor—Seizure of the King by the Army at Newport, and his Removal to Hurſt Caſtle.

FOR ſixty-and-one days Charles continued to date his correſpondence from "Our Court at Newport;" and it would certainly ſeem that Newport muſt have been ſuddenly endowed with the power of elaſticity, in order to receive and accommodate the number of perſons this eventful procedure had there congregated together.

Years upon years have paſſed ſince then, but never again has Newport or any other town preſented ſo ſingular a tranſition from tranquillity and retirement to a ſcene ſo ſtriking in the extreme. The ſtaid inhabitant agape with wonder-

ing inquirement — the ancient pikeman and muſketeer with his coil of match ſlowly ſmouldering—the republican high-crowned hat, and the more gaudy coſtume of the cavaliers and others in attendance on the king;—foremoſt among them being recognized "Monſieur Circourt, reſident in England for the Duke of Gilderland," James Stuart, Duke of Richmond, and his ſon Eſme Stuart, with his love-locks and plumed hat—the coming and going of Parliamentary poſts—and the conſtant arrival of perſonages favoured with paſſes by the Houſes.

All theſe were prominent objects during the time the negociation was allowed to proceed; whilſt the ſtate routine accompanying the paſſage of the king to and from the treaty-houſe was daily enacted; and as ſome little relaxation, the Commiſſioners oftentimes viſited the governor at Cariſbrook, "where they went to the bowling-alley, after being received with great affection and love by the ſoldiers, and 20 ſhot made from the great ordnance to give them a ſalute."

Amidſt ſo diſunited an aſſemblage, there was alſo neceſſarily a great variety of opinion; and on many occaſions the diſſenſions cauſed by party-diſputes were quelled with difficulty.

A houſe of entertainment in Newport, called the George Tavern,* was the place of aſſemblage for the royaliſts; and among other diſturbances which are noticed as occurring in this "hoſtelrie," it is ſtated, that on the night of the 11th of October, "divers of the royal party aſſembled here, and began to drink their ſovereign's health right luſtily; but upon a conference reſpecting the king's conceſſion to the Bill for the abolition of the archbiſhops, &c., they reſolved againſt it, and made great proteſtations to avenge their quarrel upon ſome of the oppoſite party. In a ſhort time their diſputation became ſo noiſy, that four files of muſketeers were ſent to apprehend and bring them before the governor; but upon this endeavour, the royaliſts drew their ſwords, and diſcharged their pocket-piſtols, and ſo bloody a conflict began to enſue, each party refuſing to give way, that a reinforcement of ſoldiers was ſent for, who, under Enſign Smith, ultimately ſecured the whole of the company, with the loſs of two royaliſts and three ſoldiers killed in the affray."

* The George was on the ſouth ſide of the High Street, where the ſhops of Meſſrs. Wavell (chemiſt), Cowdery (grocer), and Gubbins (ſtationer), now are.

Whilst the negotiation lasted, it was believed the king might easily have made his escape; and the charge of insincerity, which has been oftentimes urged as prompting him to accede to this treaty, becomes painfully observable in the letters to Captain Titus. More than once he expresses himself: "if the Parliament offer a treaty, I shall make use of it only to my escape." But to this determination a serious impediment was raised up by the engagement of his royal word that he would not depart out of the island during the conference, nor in three weeks after, although it is recorded that on one occasion he considered himself released from it by misconduct on the part of Hammond, who, on the 4th of November, became aware of that persuasion, and with considerable difficulty prevailed on him to renew the pledge; and after the renewal, it has been incorrectly said that he refused to escape, even when every facility was offered him.

The exact time of this release is particularly recognisable by the tone of his anxious correspondence with Mr. Hopkins; for in a letter written on the night of Saturday, October 7th, he says:— "Though I doubt not of your care in expediting that business whereof I spoke to you this morn-

ing, yet I cannot but tell you that you cannot make ready too ſoon; for by what I have heard ſince I ſaw you, I find that a few days will make that impoſſible which is now feaſible. Wherefore I pray you give me an account as ſoon as you can, firſt where I ſhall take boat? ſpare not my walking in reſpect of ſecurity. Then how the tide falls out? or whether in caſe the wind do ſerve, it be neceſſary to look to the tides? What winds are fair? what may ſerve? and what contrary? Conſider alſo if a paſs from 50 (*Hammond*), may not be uſeful? Laſtly, how ſoon all will be ready, and what the impediments are which reſts? I ſhall order the time of night as you ſhall judge moſt convenient."

The ſame point is alſo touched on in his letters of the ſucceeding days, Sunday and Monday; and in that of Sunday he adds this expreſſive remark, "I am ſo careful to keep this buſineſs ſecret, that I reſolve to acquaint no man with it, but at the inſtant when I am to act."

On Monday he wrote thus: "I pray you rightly to underſtand my condition, which, I confeſs, yeſternight I did not fully enough explain, through want of time. It is this: notwithſtanding my too great conceſſions already made, I

know that unleſs I ſhall make yet others, which will directly make me no king, I ſhall be at beſt but a perpetual priſoner. Beſides, if this were not, of which I am too ſure, the adhering to the church, from which I cannot depart, no, not in ſhow, will do the ſame. And to deal freely with you, the great conceſſion I made this day (the church, militia, and Ireland), was made merely in order to my eſcape, of which, if I had not hope, I would not have done; for then I could have returned to my ſtrait priſon without reluctancy. But now, I confeſs, it would break my heart, having done that which only an eſcape can juſtify. To be ſhort, if I ſtay for a demonſtration of their farther wickedneſs, it will be too late to ſeek a remedy; for my only hope is, that now they believe I dare deny them nothing, and ſo be leſs careful of their guards. Wherefore, as you love my ſafety, let us deſpatch their buſineſs as ſoon as we can, without expecting news from London; and let me tell you, that if I were once abroad and under ſail, I would willingly enough hazard the three pinnaces. To conclude, I pray you believe me (and not the common voice of mankind), that I am loſt if I do not eſcape, which I ſhall not be

able to do, if, as I have ſaid, I ſtay for farther demonſtrations. Therefore, for God's ſake, haſten with what diligence you can, and give a daily account to 39 (*the king*)."

On Tueſday, October 10, his majeſty ſays: "What I wrote yeſternight was not to add ſpurs, but really to give you the true ſtate of my condition; and as I have freely truſted you with the greateſt ſecret I have, in regard to your fidelity, for the feaſibility I ſhall truſt to your judgment. It were a wrong to my confidence and your diligence, more to exhort you. Wherefore this is only to tell you that I find it neceſſary to acquaint this bearer, my oldeſt and moſt truſty ſervant, with this great ſecret, both to eaſe my pains of writing, and the better adjuſting of all particulars, and ſo I refer you to what he ſhall ſay to you from 39 (*the king*);" adding in a poſtſcript, "the procuring of a Dutch pink would make all ſure."

Another letter, dated "Thurſday night, 9th November, after ſupper," contains this paſſage: "I ſhould be very ſorry that your expoſing yourſelf to the eaſtern wind ſhould do you any harm; but it will make me the more beholden to you, nor ſhall I ever forget your daily pains

and hazards for my ſervice. In the meantime, I hope that the wind, which probably may bring me good luck, will do you no harm. At this time I will ſay no more; but if the ſhip come, I like that way beſt; yet if ſhe come not quickly, I muſt take ſome other way, for I daily find more and more reaſon to haſten; and even ſince ſupper I have it from ſure intelligence, that the buſineſs in Ireland will break all, wherefore I muſt ſtay no longer than towards the end of next week, if ſo long, ſo that you muſt act accordingly; and upon Levet's return, which I hope will be Saturday, I muſt ſet a day."

And in the next letter, dated Sunday, November 12th, the king tells the ſame correſpondent, whom he ſtyles 48: "That you may give me the fuller account to-morrow night, I deſire you to inform yourſelf of the tides, and alſo of the horſe guards, both how they are placed, and what rounds they ride. This is all now; but when you come I will propoſe ſome conſiderations unto you how to prevent accidents."

Among theſe letters there is alſo found one with the ſignature "Hellen," to Sir W. Hopkins, but evidently deciphered by the king himſelf. It was dated in October, and contains the

following remarkable paſſages: "There is a notable deſign, to which are agreed the army and Parliament; and by concurring counſels, to which end an expreſs is ſent to Cromwell to diſpoſe of his majeſty.

"Many here wiſh (for his friends in the city are numerous), that the king would thoroughly concede, to prevent dangers incumbing. But, I fear, if good be not intended him, no condeſcenſion of his can avert it. If then he will betake him to his eſcape, let him do it on Thurſday or Friday next, but by all means out of ſome door, and not from the houſe-top by means of ladders. For I have heard too much of that way talked of by ſome near him. Farther I deſire none may be truſted herewith but your ſon and Levet."

It has been ſeen, from the king's own words, in his parting addreſs to the commiſſioners, that he had then apprehenſions for his life; and it is ſtill more apparent by theſe extracts, that of late his hopes had ſucceſſively vaniſhed, until the conviction was ſtrongly felt that the reſult of this trying treaty afforded no promiſe, even by ample conceſſions, and a ſurrender of his rights, of either a reſtoration of his liberty, or reconciliation with his opponents.

His ſituation at this moment was alarmingly critical; and it can therefore ſcarcely create wonderment, that under ſuch circumſtances, he ſought to eſcape, or that his parole was ſeemingly no objection to the attempt.

He knew that beſides the Parliament there was the army, which had both the will and the power to ſet aſide any agreement which might be made between him and the two Houſes, and hence aroſe his conviction that "the treaty would come to nothing;" whilſt added to this, was his acquaintance, ſince his releaſe, with all that paſſed in the private councils of his enemies —their determination to bring him to trial and the ſcaffold—and the intimation he had received of an intention to aſſaſſinate him during the treaty.

With all theſe thoughts in his mind, how pitiable was the condition of Charles at Newport. His labours were intenſe, and morning, noon, and night, brought neither ceſſation of mental fatigue nor modification of his calamitous diſtreſſes.

Deſcribing the king's avocations at this time, a cotemporary authority writes: "on that day (Sept. 26) his majeſty had conſultation with the biſhop of London and the reſt of the doctors with him, about the bill for church government, preſented to him the night before. At dinner

and ſupper the biſhops ſaid grace, and waited upon his majeſty (as they do every day), and after dinner his majeſty had again conſultation with them and the doctors upon the bill aforeſaid.

"His majeſty in conference with them had pen, ink, and paper, and took divers notes for his private uſe afterwards, and after ſupper was cloſe writing in his privy chamber.

"Wedneſday, Sept. 27, was the faſt-day; his majeſty had common prayer read that morning, and a ſermon in the preſence-chamber, and the additional prayer* concerning the treaty was alſo read, and a pſalm ſung for peace.

* In addition to the uſual Liturgy, the following prayer, "drawn by his majeſty's ſpecial direction and dictates for a bleſſing on the Treaty at Newport," was uſed on all occaſions of Divine Service:—

"O moſt merciful Father, Lord God of Peace and Truth, we, a people ſorely afflicted by the ſcourge of an unnatural war, do earneſtly beſeech thee to command a bleſſing from Heaven upon this preſent Treaty, begun for the eſtabliſhment of a happy peace; ſoften the moſt obdurate hearts with a true Chriſtian deſire of ſaving thoſe men's blood for whom Chriſt himſelf hath ſhed his: or if the guilt of our great ſins cauſe this Treaty to break off in vain, Lord, let the truth clearly appear who thoſe men are which under pretence of the public good do purſue their own private ends; that this people may be no longer ſo blindly miſerable as not to ſee at leaſt in this their day the things that belong unto their peace.

"Grant this, gracious God, for His ſake, who is our peace itſelf, even Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. Amen."

"After ſermon his majeſty had again further conference with the biſhops, doctors, and the lords then alſo in preſence who have leave from the Parliament to attend his majeſty; and they were very cloſe in argument about the Bill for church government.

"And after ſupper his majeſty withdrew to prepare a paper to be preſented to the Parliament commiſſioners the next day. But beſides the diſpute about this buſineſs of church government, the king had conſultation with the lords, and alſo with the lawyers and others about him, concerning the reſt of the propoſitions."*

Sir Philip Warwick alſo remarks that "every night when the king was alone about eight o'clock, except when he was writing his own private letters, he commanded me to come to him, and he lookt over the notes of that day's

* "His majeſty not long ſince being preſent at the treaty, one of his late ſervants that did attend him in his chamber, did ſecretly break open his cabinet, in hope to diſcover ſomething by which he might both ſatisfy his curioſity and advantage it; but the event not anſwering his expectations he ſuddenly clapt it together again. His majeſty being returned, the diſorders of the papers did confeſs that his cabinet had been opened and examined, at which his diſcretion would take no notice, but being as full of forgiveneſs as of candour, he took his pen and wrote this diſtich readily on his cabinet:

"A Pick-thanke and a Pick-locke, both are baſely evil,
The difference is, this trots, that ambles to the devill."

treaty, and the reaſons upon which it moved, and ſo dictated the heads of a diſpatch, which from time to time he made concerning this treaty unto his preſent majeſty, then prince:* and this, Mr. Oudart, whoſe hand his majeſty uſed in thoſe diſpatches, tranſcribed. And I had my own papers when the king came over, but lent them unto ſome hand that never reſtored them to me, which hath lamed me much about this treaty. Some things I remember I ſaid which ſhowed thoſe eminent chriſtian virtues in him which were rarely to be found among any ſort of men—ſcarce ever among princes. For about the latter end of the Treaty, finding it was like to be ineffectual, 'I wiſh (ſays he) I had conſulted nobody but my own ſelf, for then where in honour or conſcience I could not have complied, I could have early been poſitive. For, with Job, I would willingly have rather choſen miſery than ſin.'

"I never ſaw him ſhed tears but once, and he turned his head preſently away; for he was then dictating to me ſomewhat in a window, and he was loth to be diſcerned; and the lords and gentlemen were then in the room, though

* Several of theſe letters are among the MSS. preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum.

his back was towards them—but I can ſafely take my oath they were the biggeſt drops that I ever ſaw fall from an eye—but he recollected himſelf, and ſoon ſtifled them.

"When he was preſt by the Parliament miniſters to give way for a ſmall Catechiſm for Children, 'I will not (ſays he) take upon me to determine all theſe texts you quote are rightly applied, and have their true ſenſe given them; and I aſſure you, gentlemen, I would licenſe a catechiſm at a venture ſooner for men than I would for children, becauſe they can judge for themſelves: and I make great conſcience to permit that children ſhould be corrupted in their firſt principles.'

"And this was ſpoken unto Stephen Marſhall, of whom I know by a gentleman that was in the ſociety of the Parliament commiſſioners, that he was a bloody man in thoſe extemporary prayers, which in his courſe he then made unto the commiſſioners (and his ſermons ſhow how far he was from a Chriſtian ſpirit), for that gentleman told me that there was a great difference of ſpirit betwixt thoſe prayers which Vines, and thoſe that Marſhall made.

"I remember one evening, when I waited on

the king with the notes that paſſed that day (and then ſometimes he would eaſe himſelf by ſome diſcourſe on the bye), his majeſty told me that he ſhould be like a captain that had defended a place well, and his ſuperiors not being able to relieve him, he had leave to ſurrender it; but (he replied), 'though they cannot relieve me in the time I demand it, let them relieve me when they can: elſe I will hold it out till I make ſome ſtone in this building my tombſtone, and ſo I will do (ſays he), by the Church of England.'

"Another time, talking of the unreaſonableneſs of the two Houſes' propoſitions about the civil government: 'Well (ſays he), they will aſk ſo much, and uſe it ſo ill, that the people of England will be one day glad to relodge the power they had taken from the Crown, where it is due, and I have offended againſt them more in the things I have granted them, than in anything I ever deſigned againſt them.'"

The chaplains ſpoken of by Warwick were thoſe ſent by the Parliament to attend on the commiſſioners, and before whom they preached. Herbert remarks that "the king would not accept of them amongſt his chaplains, either preaching or praying. His majeſty was never-

theleſs affable to them, and ſaid they were welcome, always deſiring thoſe pious aſſiſtances which holy and good miniſters, either prelates or preſbyters, could afford him, eſpecially in thoſe extremities which God had pleaſed to permit ſome of his ſubjects to reduce him to;" and as the pariſh church was poſſeſſed by theſe men and the commiſſioners, divine ſervice was regularly and decorouſly performed before him in the preſence-chamber* by one of his ſelected chaplains, or one of the prelates who had come to Newport to aſſiſt him in his deliberations touching the government of the church, who preached from texts apparently ſelected as pertinent to the occaſion of their aſſembly.

On the 8th of October the ſermon was delivered by Dr. Turner, dean of Canterbury, from the 5th chapter of John and 14th verſe: "Afterwards Jeſus findeth him in the temple, and ſaith unto him, Behold, thou art made whole; ſin no more, leſt a worſe thing come unto thee."

On the ſucceeding Sunday, Dr. Heywood. On the 29th October, Dr. Turner again. On the 5th November, Dr. Heywood, from the 68th Pſalm. On the 12th Dr. Gulſon, from the

* The preſent ſchool-room in the Grammar School at Newport.

words, "Ye ſhall ſwear by me in truth, judgment, and righteouſneſs." And on the 19th, his majeſty's birthday, the primate of Armagh, upon the 49th chapter of Geneſis and 3rd verſe; whilſt on the remaining Sabbath is found the name of Dr. Sanderſon.

Theſe matters were all carefully recorded by Mr. Oudart, in whoſe diary many other intereſting reminiſcences illuſtrative of the king's diſpoſition and fortunes at this time are to be found.

On the 7th of October he writes:—

"This evening happened a very remarkable thing. A young gentlewoman of about ſixteen years of age, Elizabeth Stevens, of Wincheſter, came into the preſence-chamber to be touched for the evil, which ſhe was ſuppoſed to have, and therewith one of her eyes (that, namely, on the left ſide) was ſo much indiſpoſed that, by her own and her mother's teſtimony (who was then alſo preſent) ſhe had not ſeen with that eye of above a month before.

"After prayers read by Dr. Saunderſon, the maid kneeled down among others likewiſe to be touched; and his majeſty touched her, and put a ribbon, with a piece of money* at it, in uſual

* Theſe were angels, called "Healing Gold."

manner about her neck. Which done, his majeſty turned to the lords, namely, the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Southampton, and the Earl of Lindſey, to diſcourſe with them. And the ſaid young gentlewoman, of her own accord, ſaid openly, 'I can ſee of this ſore eye.' And afterwards declared ſhe did ſee more and more by it, and could by degrees endure the light of a candle. All which his majeſty, in the preſence of the ſaid lords and very many others, examined himſelf and found to be true. And it hath ſince been diſcovered, that ſome months agone the ſaid young gentlewoman profeſſed, that as ſoon as ſhe was of age ſufficient, ſhe would convey over to the king's uſe all her land, which, to the value of about 130*l.* per annum, her father, deceaſed, had left her ſole heir unto."

The army was now drawn together in the town of St. Albans, and there a council of officers, after a week's deliberation, had drawn up a remonſtrance to the Houſe of Commons, in which they urged their ſad apprehenſions of the danger and evil of the treaty with the king, and of any accommodation with him; that he ought to be brought to trial on account of the evils done by him; that the Engliſh monarchy ſhould

henceforward be elective; and that a period ſhould be ſet to the preſent Parliament, which, for the future, ſhould be annual. This remonſtrance, which is of great length, was ſigned by Ruſhworth, the ſecretary to Fairfax, and induced a long and high debate. In fact, Cromwell was at hand, and he, the moſt powerful of all, was determined above all not to confide in the treaty with Charles, nor to brook the domination of the Preſbyterian party, which had of late carried moſt of their meaſures by large majorities. He, together with Ireton and others of the violent party, had been for ſome time in earneſt correſpondence with Hammond, reaſoning with him, and exhorting him to hold the perſon of the king ſolely for the ſervices and uſes of the army. But theſe appeals ſeem to have awakened Hammond, when too late, to that ſenſe of his duty which the love of ſelf had hitherto ſtilled within him; and perceiving that, notwithſtanding their overtures, he was determined to keep the king for the Parliament, they reſolved to have recourſe to the expedient of drawing him away from his government for a ſhort time, under the pretence of that clauſe in his original appointment, by which the authority of the commander-

in-chief had been expreſsly reſerved and confirmed."

To the ſucceſsful accompliſhment of this ſcheme, the reſpective characters of each of the actors in it were well calculated to afford every facility. It was eaſy to make Fairfax believe the commander-in-chief poſſeſſed the right to ſummon Hammond to appear before him; and therefore, the right alſo of appointing a ſubſtitute during his abſence: a courſe of reaſoning which procured the governor's recall to headquarters, and the appointment of Colonel Ewer in his place; but on the receipt of the letter containing this information, Hammond, now poſſeſſed by ſome conſcientious ſcruples, immediately tranſmitted it to the Houſe of Commons, by whom it was reſolved, on the 27th of November, that he ſhould be required to ſtay in the Iſle of Wight, and attend his charge there until further orders; that the general be informed of this note; and an order diſpatched to the lord admiral, to ſend ſome ſhips to the Iſle of Wight, where he was to be in communication with Colonel Hammond, and conſider himſelf under his commands.

Before the arrival of theſe wiſhes of the

Houſe, Hammond, had however, left the iſland, by reaſon of the poſitive injunction expreſſed in the general's letter. He informed the lords and commons, from Farnham, that he was proceeding towards the army, and intimated to them at Bagſhot, that he was there put under reſtraint. This intelligence cauſed an ordinance to be paſſed "for a letter to be written to the general, to acquaint him that his orders given to Col. Ewer, were contrary to the reſolutions of the Houſe, and the inſtructions to Col. Hammond; and deſired him to recall the ſaid order, and immediately command Hammond back to the iſland."

Although Hammond had obeyed the general's injunctions by haſtening to head-quarters, he, however, refuſed to ſurrender his charge to Ewer; as before his departure from the iſland, which he did in the company of Ewer by the ſame boat as the commiſſioners, he appointed three deputies for the ſafety of the iſland, and the care of the king's perſon.

Theſe three perſonages were, Major Rolph in command at Newport, Capt. Boreman at Cariſbrook, and Capt. Hawes, to whom he delivered a copy of his own inſtructions as received from the Parliament, as well as additional directions

for this eſpecial occaſion. He particularly enjoined on them, "that if any perſon whatever, under any pretence whatever, ſhall endeavour the removing the perſon of the king out of this iſland, unleſs by direct order of Parliament, that you reſiſt, and to your uttermoſt oppoſe any ſuch perſons, and you uſe your beſt endeavours to ſecure the perſon of the king from being taken out of the iſland." He endowed them with power to ſummon the trainbands, if neceſſary, to their aſſiſtance, and gave them command over all officers and ſoldiers of the army now in the iſland, captains, governors, and forts, and all boats and barks belonging to it; whilſt to Sir Robert Dillington, colonel of the regiment of the Eaſt Medine Trainbands, and Sir John Leigh, colonel of thoſe of the Weſt Medine, ſimilar injunctions were addreſſed, with the addition that they were to be aiding and aſſiſting unto the three commiſſioners already mentioned.

The known predilections of Rolph would not urge him to attach much importance to theſe commands; as the deliverance of the perſon of the king to the army was a procedure in which he would rather ſympathiſe, than exert any authority delegated to him to prevent.

Little ſurpriſe will be therefore excited at the events which cloſely followed the departure of Hammond from the iſland. Firebrace, after ſpeaking of the reſult of the treaty, quaintly ſays, "Our hopes were all blaſted, when the army, thirſting for his blood, ſent a party into the iſland to ſecure him, which was ſo ſuddenly and privately done, that there was no notice or appearance of them until that night they began their horrid tragedy, being the 29th of November, 1648.

"The king had commanded me to attend him that night at eight of the clock, for a packet he was preparing for me to ſend to the queen; but before that hour I perceived ſome ſoldiers with piſtols in their hands, buſily prying about the houſe where the king was lodged; this, together with the news of a party newly arrived, put me into great apprehenſion of the king's danger. And, therefore, not ſtaying till the time his majeſty appointed me, I knocked at the bedchamber-door, which his majeſty had commanded me to do at any time when I had buſineſs with him; and by ſuch a knock, which he knew and directed me to uſe. He preſently opened me the door, and ſeeing me appear in

great aſtoniſhment, aſked me, 'What is the matter?' I anſwered, 'God Almighty preſerve your majeſty, for I much fear ſome diſmal attempt upon your perſon; and told him what I had ſeen and heard. He was pleaſed to lay his hand upon mine, and uſe theſe or like words: 'Firebrace, be not thus affrighted; things will be well. You know Hammond is this day gone for London, and he hath appointed three deputies in his abſence; theſe will be trebly diligent; and it may be he will ſet a treble guard upon me, but I am aſſured there will be no danger.'

"I replied, Ah! ſir, I much fear you are deceived; for God's ſake yet think of your ſafety—there is yet a door of hope open. The night is dark, and I can now ſafely bring you into the ſtreet, and thence conduct you to your old friend Mr. John Newland, who hath a good boat always ready, and a good heart to ſerve you. Commit yourſelf to the mercy of the ſeas, where God will preſerve you, and truſt not yourſelf in the hands of theſe mercileſs villains, who I fear this night will murder you; which, indeed, I feared, and therefore was tranſported in my paſſionate expreſſions. Which his majeſty, notwithſtanding, took very well, and uſed ex-

preſſions of great kindneſs to me, which I begged he would forbear, and yet think of his ſafety.

"He told me he did not fear, and that if he did think there was any danger, he ſhould be cautious of going in regard of his word, which I ſuppoſed he had paſſed to Hammond not to ſtir; then he bid me ſtay, and he would ſeal up his letters, which he had juſt finiſhed, and gave me that diſpatch to ſend away, which accordingly he did, and I with a ſorrowful heart left him."

Soon afterwards, another of the royal ſervants was called by a diſguiſed perſon, who deſired him to acquaint the king that the army would ſeize upon him that night, and then abruptly withdrew; and although as yet no one was aware that any additional ſoldiers had arrived in the iſland, for with ſuch great ſecrecy was this prelude managed, Lieut.-Col. Cobbett had actually landed with a troop of horſe and a company of foot.

Boreman at firſt refuſed to admit him into Cariſbrook, but Rolph readily offered his aid at Newport; and theſe movements ſoon after coming to the king's knowledge, he became alarmed, and inſtantly ſummoned to his councils

the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Lindſey, and Colonel Edward Cooke; the latter of whom has preſerved a minute deſcription of this, the laſt ſcene in this memorable drama. He ſtates, "That evening, between the hours of ſeven and eight, the king ſent for the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Lindſey, and Col. Edward Cooke, (who were all three together at the Duke of Richmond's lodgings in Newport,) with all ſpeed to attend him, who accordingly haſtened to court, the two lords entering into the king's inner room, while the colonel waited in the outer room for further orders.

"The king acquainted the lords, that one of his ſervants had been ſent for by a perſon in a kind of diſguiſe, who having informed him that the army would that night ſeize upon the king's perſon, abruptly left him. The Duke of Richmond acquainting the king that Col. Cooke attended without, was commanded to call him in. The king aſked him whether he had heard anything, that the army deſigned to ſeize upon him that night; he anſwered, that he did not hear anything ſo much as tending towards it; adding, ſurely if I had, I would have acquainted the king with it. The king, giving

the colonel the reaſon of his queſtion, commanded him to find out Major Rolph, and inquire of him what he knew of it (who was then left as deputy-governor by Col. Hammond, with directions that on all occaſions he ſhould addreſs the king through Col. Cooke, as himſelf had uſually done during the treaty.)

"Col. Cooke having the king's commands, and opportunely finding Major Rolph in his chamber, acquainted him that the king ſent him to inquire of him, whether the army reſolved to ſeize upon him that night. He anſwered, not that he knew of, adding, *you may aſſure the king from me, that he may reſt quietly this night, he ſhall have no diſturbance this night.* Col. Cooke obſerving that he placed ſo much emphaſis on thoſe words, *this night*, though that was all he was commanded by the king to aſk, urged him farther, whether really there was any ſuch deſign at all, or not. After a little pauſe, he anſwered, it was impoſſible for him to know the preſent purpoſes of the army at ſo great a diſtance, but that as yet he had received no ſuch orders. The colonel replied, *But if you ſhall hereafter, ſhall I be ſure ſo timely to be made acquainted with them, as that the king may not be*

ſurpriſed with the execution of them. To which requeſt he ſeemingly conſented, anſwering, that was but a due reſpect to the king.

"Col. Cooke thereupon returning to the king, gave him a punctual account of theſe paſſages, who, in the meantime, having been informed that a conſiderable number of the army were that night landed on the iſland, remanded Col. Cooke back to Major Rolph, to inquire the truth thereof; who thus anſwered him: That he knew freſh forces would ere long come over to relieve thoſe that then paſſed on duty there, but that as yet he was not certain of their being landed; which anſwer, alſo, the colonel returned to the king, who, in that ſhort time of his abſence, had received farther information that two thouſand foot were drawn up about Cariſbrook Caſtle, at which the king ſeemed to be much ſtartled, ſaying, ſure there muſt needs be ſome extraordinary deſign on foot, that ſuch a body of men ſhould not only be ſo privately landed, but alſo in ſuch a bitter night as this to be expoſed to ſuch extremity of weather, the wind blowing very high, and the rain falling faſt. The king expreſſing a great deſire to be ſatisfied on the truth of this, and doubting that

he might not be ſo clearly dealt with by Major Rolph, Col. Cooke offered his ſervice to go and ſee: but the king, reflecting on the ſeverity of the weather, refuſed to expoſe him, yet owning it an important particular whereof to be rightly informed, which the colonel obſerving, importuned the king, that if he could be ſo long diſpenſed with from his majeſty's ſervice there, he would give him leave to go, he knowing no other expedient for the king's certain ſatisfaction.

"He alſo preſſed the lords to intercede for him therein, and at laſt obtained leave of the king, his majeſty adding theſe gracious expreſſions: that he hoped he being young and healthy would receive no prejudice by it, and that he might live to requite it; repeating his deſire to know the truth of it.

"The colonel took leave, and having ſoon got himſelf and his horſe ready, though the night was extraordinary dark, fortunately groped out his way through the dark and found the caſtle: which having carefully rounded, and finding nobody without, he went to the gate, and having performed the uſual ceremonies (as giving the word to the corporal), and ſheltered

himſelf under the gate from the exceſs of rain that then fell, he ſent his deſires to the governor, one Capt. Boreman, a gentleman of the iſland who commanded a militia company there), with whom he was well acquainted, to come to him. In the meantime, he diſcourſed with the ſoldiers to try what he could get out of them, but found they were altogether ignorant, being a company of the iſlanders newly marched in; the two army companies formerly garriſoned there being drawn down into the town of Newport, probably to double the guards.

"After a longer ſtay than he expected, the meſſenger returned with this excuſe, That the captain could not conveniently come out to him, but invited him in; who, when he came into the parlour, was ſurpriſed with the ſight of about a dozen officers of the army, moſt of whoſe faces he knew. And after mutual ſalutation, he addreſſed himſelf to the governor, deſiring to ſpeak with him, who, he obſerved, firſt aſked and obtained leave of thoſe officers; wherefore, aſking him in private what he meant by that, the governor plainly told him, he was no better than a priſoner in his own garriſon, for they had threatened him with immediate death if he but

ſo much as whiſpered with any of his own ſervants. The Colonel aſked him whether he could imagine the cauſe of all this? He anſwered, He ſuppoſed there was ſome conſiderable deſign on foot, but knew not what it was; adding, that he underſtood that the captain that commanded the troop of horſe in the iſland was in the ſame condition, and that his lieutenant commanded in his place, but that he knew no other cauſe for either, unleſs they ſuſpected that they had too much duty for the king, which gave the Colonel the opportunity of aſking the particular queſtion, whether he knew anything of the king's being that night to be ſeized upon? who anſwered, It was not improbable but that might be their deſign, though he knew nothing of it.

"Colonel Cooke received as much light as the governor could give him, took leave, and haſtened to give the king an exact account of all that had paſſed; but found, at his return, a great alteration at court. Guards not only ſet round the king's lodgings, and at every window, but even within doors alſo, nay, ſentinels at the king's very chamber-door, ſo that the king was almoſt ſuffocated with the ſmoke of the burning

match, which haſtened the Colonel to Major Rolph to complain of the rudeneſs of the ſoldiers, whom he found in bed (it being now near twelve or one o'clock), having entered his chamber againſt the will of his ſervant. After an apology, he made his complaint, and received this anſwer, that he was no way guilty of it; that the two companies being late drawn out of the caſtle, could not that night have quarters provided them, and therefore he had ordered them to double the guards, not foreſeeing this would happen, but the next day he would redreſs all things himſelf, with due reſpect to the king, and conſult him, the ſaid Colonel, in it; and that in the meantime he was confident, on the Colonel's complaint to the captain of the guards, he would draw off the men from being offenſive to the king, adding, if the Colonel found it needful, he might make uſe of his name to the captain of the guards, to whom the Colonel making his application on his return to the king, prevailed with him to draw off thoſe guards that were ſo great an annoyance to the king, to a more tolerable diſtance.

"At Colonel Cooke's return to the king, he made him repeat over all the ſeveral paſſages

that had happened that night, which being compared together, and duly conſidered by the king, the Duke of Richmond, and Earl of Lindſey, (for the Earl of Southampton, being indiſpoſed, was before that time returned to his lodgings, and the Marquis of Hertford had taken leave of the king, and left the iſland that morning, and was gone to Netley,) all unanimouſly concluded that the army would ſuddenly ſeize upon the king's perſon, which being taken for granted on all hands, the queſtion was, in this deſperate caſe, what was moſt adviſable to be done?

"The lords argued for the king's attempting an immediate eſcape, for he would better bring about a perſonal treaty with the Parliament (which he ſo much coveted), when out of the reach of the army, than when within their power, and this would certainly ſecure the ſafety of his perſon, which elſe might be very probably much in danger.

"But before they could proceed to debate the manner of this eſcape, the king prevented it, thus arguing againſt the eſcape itſelf; firſt arguing the difficulties, if not impoſſibility, of accompliſhing it; next, the conſequences; that in caſe he ſhould miſcarry in the attempt, it would

exaſperate the army, and diſhearten his friends; and, laſtly, that if the army ſhould ſeize upon him, they muſt preſerve him for their own ſakes, for that no party could ſecure their own intereſts without joining his with it, his ſon being now out of their reach.

"The Earl of Lindſey replied, Take heed, ſir, leſt you fall into ſuch hands as will not ſteer by rules of policy; remember Hampton Court, where your eſcape was your beſt ſecurity. The Duke of Richmond added, That yet he thought it feaſible enough; and turning to Colonel Cooke, aſked, How he paſſed to and fro? Who anſwered, He had the word. The duke aſked him, Whether he believed he could paſs him too? who anſwered, He made no queſtion but he could. At which the duke took a longer cloak, without a ſtar, and made the colonel go along with him through the guards, and ſo returned again to the king, acquainting him with what he had done, and with what eaſe, and thence took the advantage again to perſuade the king's attempting to eſcape.

"Who on a ſudden turning himſelf from the two lords, that were diſcourſing with him at the window, to Colonel Cooke, who ſtood drying

himſelf by the fire, ſaid, Ned Cooke, what do you adviſe me in this caſe? Who humbly anſwered, He ſuſpected his own judgment too much to preſume to offer any advice, conſidering both the greatneſs of the danger, and the perſon concerned in it; that his majeſty had his privy council with him, to whom he humbly beſought him to liſten, obſerving what they preſſed him to. At which the lords reſumed their former diſcourſe of attempting an eſcape.

"But the king, turning about again, ſaid, Ned, I command you to give me your advice. At which the colonel begged leave, that after he had premiſed ſome particulars, he might aſk his majeſty a queſtion, who permitting him: Suppoſe, ſaid he, I ſhould not only tell your majeſty that the army would very ſuddenly ſeize upon you, but by concurring circumſtances fully convince your majeſty it would be ſo; and alſo that I have the word, horſes ready at hand, a veſſel attending at Cowes and hourly expecting me; that I am ready and deſirous to attend you, and this diſmal dark night, as it were, ſuited to the purpoſe, ſo that I can foreſee no viſible difficulty in the thing, which I ſuppoſe to be in all particulars the true ſtate of this preſent caſe.

The only queſtion now is, What will your majeſty reſolve to do? Who, after a ſhort pauſe, pronounced this poſitive anſwer: *They have promiſed me, and I have promiſed them; I will not break firſt.*

The Duke of Richmond urging the colonel to ſpeak, he craved leave to ſpeak to argue the point with the king, who ſaid, With all my heart. I preſume, ſir, ſaid the colonel, your majeſty intends by theſe words (they and them), the Parliament; if ſo, the ſcene now is quite altered or changed, your preſent apprehenſion ariſing from the army, who have ſo far already violated the promiſes of the Parliament as to invade your majeſty's freedom and ſafety, by changing the ſingle ſentinel of ſtate at the outer door, unto ſtrong guards on your very bed-chamber, which is in itſelf no better than a confinement, and probably the forerunner of ſomething more—a ſpeedy abſolute impriſonment.

"The king replied, however, He would not do anything that ſhould look like a breaking of his word; and ſo bade him and the Earl of Lindſey good night, and that he would go and take his reſt too, ſo long as he could. To which Colonel Cooke replied, I fear it will not

be long. The king anſwered, As pleaſe God. The king perceiving great uneaſineſs and diſorder in the colonel, ſaid, Ned, what troubles you? tell me. Who replied, Sir, to conſider the greatneſs of your majeſty's danger, and your unwillingneſs to avoid it. The king replied, Ne'er let that trouble you; were it greater I would not break my word to prevent it. Sir, ſaid the colonel, will your majeſty but reſpite the reſolution, and give me leave to ſtep and call my Lord Southampton? What needs that, ſaid the king, are not theſe two my friends? (pointing to the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Lindſey), I tell you they are my two true friends. Said the colonel, Be pleaſed then to conſult them. Said the king, I am reſolved; go you two to bed (meaning the Earl of Lindſey and Colonel Cooke, for the Duke of Richmond was then in waiting); and if I have need of you I will ſend for you. Whereupon both took leave.

"But the Duke of Richmond ſtepped after Colonel Cooke to conſult him whether or no he had beſt put off his clothes that night? who anſwered, He himſelf for his part would not; for notwithſtanding Major Rolph's promiſe, he feared the king would ſoon be diſturbed, or elſe the

face of affairs deceived him. The duke aſked him, Whether he ſhould let the king know what his opinion was? who anſwered, With all his heart; and that he would ſtay in the outward room in hopes that he might occaſion ſome new diſcourſe of the buſineſs. But the duke ſoon returned, and told him the king was reſolved to go to bed. It was then almoſt one o'clock; and though Colonel Cooke went not to bed all night, yet all things were carried with ſo great ſecrecy and quiet, that not the leaſt noiſe was heard, nor the leaſt cauſe of ſuſpicion given.

"But in the morning, juſt at daybreak, the king, hearing a great knocking at his dreſſing-room door, ſent the Duke of Richmond to know what it meant; who, on inquiring who was there, was anſwered, One Mildmay (one of the ſervants the Parliament had put to the king, and brother to Sir Henry). The duke demanding what he would have? anſwered, There were ſome gentlemen from the army very deſirous to ſpeak with the king; which account the duke gave the king; but the knocking increaſing, the king commanded the duke to let them into his dreſſ-ing-room. No ſooner was this done, but before the king got out of his bed, thoſe officers ruſhed

into his chamber, and abruptly told the king they had orders to remove him. From whom? ſaid the king. They replied, From the army. The king aſked whither he was to be removed? They anſwered, *To the caſtle.* The king aſked, *What caſtle?* They again anſwered, *To the caſtle. The caſtle,* ſaid the king, *is no caſtle.* He told them he was well enough prepared for any caſtle, and required them to name the caſtle. After a ſhort whiſpering together, they ſaid, *Hurſt Caſtle.* The king replied, They could not well name a worſe, and called to the Duke of Richmond to ſend for the Earl of Lindſey and Colonel Cooke. At firſt they ſcrupled at the Earl of Lindſey's coming; but the king, ſaid, Why not both, ſince both lie together? They promiſed to ſend for both, but ſent for neither.

"And though the Duke of Richmond had ordered the king's breakfaſt to be haſtened, preſuming that there was but little proviſion in the deſolate caſtle; yet, when he was ſcarce ready, the horſes being come, they hurried him away, only permitting the duke to attend him about two miles, and then told him he muſt go no further; where he ſadly took his leave, being

ſcarce permitted to kiſs the king's hand, whoſe laſt words were, Remember me to my Lord Lindſey and Colonel Cooke, and command Colonel Cooke, from me, never to forget the paſſages of this night."*

Firebrace, on hearing that his anticipations had been too ſurely verified, procured leave, with ſome difficulty, to enter his majeſty's chamber, in diſcharge of his duty as page; and on the king's remarking, "I know not where theſe people intend to carry me, and I would willingly eat before I go, therefore give me ſomething to eat;" immediately proceeded to comply with the king's deſire; but, as if in corroboration of Colonel Cooke's ſtatement, he relates, "that on his returning in half an hour to tell him his repaſt was ready, he met the officers, in company with Rolph, leading him down ſtairs, to hurry him away, without ſuffering him to break his faſt. He then," he ſays, "kneeled down to kiſs the king's hand, at which he ſtopped and gave me leave to do, when they thruſt him up into the coach, which was ſet cloſe to the door."†

* November 29, 1648.

† On teſting the rhodomontade of Sir John Bowring (?) with ſtatements that cannot err, the Journal of the Houſes of Parlia-

"Never," writes Mr. Herbert, "at one time, he thought, was beheld more grief in men's faces, or greater fears in their hearts, the king being at ſuch a time and in ſuch a manner hurried away they knew not whither; but no remedy appearing, the noblemen, the venerable perſons, and others, his majeſty's ſervants, approached to kiſs the king's hand, and to pour forth their ſupplications to Almighty God to ſafeguard and comfort his majeſty in that his diſconſolate condition.

"His majeſty, who at other times was cheerful, at his parting from his friends ſhowed ſorrow in his heart by the ſadneſs of his countenance—a real ſympathy.

ment, &c., I have thought it better to paſs by his extraordinary tales—for nothing more they are—of this particular time, as alſo the unfounded alluſion of Lord Clarendon to the ungenerous part the queen is ſuppoſed to have performed in connection with the king's attempts to eſcape. The letter on which the accuſation is founded, contains in truth no alluſion to the queen at all. The perſon mentioned in the letter, under the number 351 (printed in Aſhburnham's narrative), is not the queen, but Mrs. Whorwood, who was then in the iſland adviſing with him. And it is here worthy of remark, that the king in his cipher letters never calls Henrietta Maria "the queen," but invariably ſpeaks of her as "my wife," and that the numbers were changed for the uſe of every correſpondent; as, for inſtance, in Titus' cipher the number 315 expreſſed queen, but not *the* queen. And had Charles wiſhed to write the queen, he would have uſed the numbers 560 : 315 (*the queen*).

"When the king was ready to take coach, he aſked whether he was to have any ſervants with him; 'Only ſuch, anſwered the Lieut.-Colonel, 'as are uſeful.' The king then nominated Mr. Harrington and Mr. Herbert to attend in his bedchamber, and ſcarce a dozen more for other ſervice. The king taking notice that Mr. Herbert had for three days abſented himſelf, Mr. Harrington told his majeſty he was ſick of an ague. He then deſired the Duke of Richmond to ſend one of his ſervants to ſee in what condition he then was, and if anything well, to come along with him. The gentleman the duke ſent found him ſweating, but ſo ſoon as he received the meſſage he aroſe, and came ſpeedily to his majeſty, who ſoon took coach and commanded Mr. Harrington, Mr. Herbert, and Mr. Mildmay (his carver) to come into his coach; and the Lieut.-Colonel, offering to enter the coach uninvited, his majeſty (by oppoſing his foot) made him ſenſible of his rudeneſs,* ſo as with ſome

* Firebrace aſſerts that this perſonage was no other than "Rolph, who had before attempted to murder him; he impudently, with his hat on, ſtept up into the coach, but his majeſty, with great courage, roſe up and thruſt him out, ſaying, 'It is not come to that yet—get you out;' and called up Mr. Herbert and Mr. Harrington, who at that time waited as grooms of the bedchamber."—"Memoirs," p. 199.

confuſion he mounted his horſe and followed with a guard of horſe; the coachman driving as directed.

"The king in this paſſage ſhowed no diſcompoſure at all, but would be aſking the gentlemen in the coach with him whither they thought he was travelling? They made ſome ſimple replies, ſuch as ſerved to make his majeſty ſmile at their innocent conjectures; otherwhile he could comfort himſelf with what he had granted at his late treaty with the commiſſioners, whom he highly praiſed for their ingenuity and fair deportment at Newport, as formerly mentioned.

"The coach went weſtward, towards Worsley's Tower, in Freſhwater Iſle, a little beyond Yarmouth Haven, and thereabout his majeſty reſted until the veſſel was ready to take him aboard with thoſe few attendants. The king, after an hour's ſtay, went aboard, a ſorrowful ſpectacle and great example of Fortune's inconſtancy.

"The wind and tide favouring, they croſſed the narrow ſea in three hours, and landed at Hurſt Caſtle. The captain of this wretched place was not unſuitable; for at the king's going aſhore he

ſtood ready to receive him with ſmall obſervance. His look was ſtern; his hair and large beard were black and buſhy; he held a partiſan in his hand, and (Switz like) had a great baſket-hilt ſword by his ſide; hardly could one ſee a man of more grim aſpect, and no leſs robuſt and rude was his behaviour. Some of his majeſty's ſervants were not a little fearful of him, and that he was deſigned for miſchief, eſpecially when he vapoured, being elevated with his command and puffed up by having ſo royal a priſoner: ſo as probably he conceived he was nothing inferior to the governor of the caſtle of Milan; but being complained of to his ſuperior officer, appeared a bubble; for being pretty ſharply admoniſhed, he quickly became mild and calm, a poſture ill becoming ſuch a rhodomont, and made it viſible that his humour (or tumour, rather) was acted to curry favour, wherein he alſo was miſtaken: for to give the Lieut.-Colonel [Eyres] his due, after his majeſty came under his cuſtody, he was very civil to the king, both in his language and behaviour, and courteous to thoſe that attended upon all occaſions; nor was his diſpoſition rugged towards ſuch as in loyalty

came to ſee the king, and to pray for him, as ſundry out of Hampſhire did, and the neighbouring counties."

This, reader, is a faithful chronicle of the remarkable proceedings attendant on the detention of King Charles the Firſt in the Iſle of Wight—a hiſtory perhaps unparalleled in the lives of kings; and it is hoped that the incidents which have been here rendered may be deemed a not unintereſting memoir of the latter days of this unfortunate monarch.

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

THE INSTRUCTIONS

RECEIVED BY COLONEL TITUS AT VARIOUS TIMES,

FROM

KING CHARLES THE SECOND

AND

QUEEN HENRIETTA MARIA.

APPENDIX.

Anſwer to an Addreſs received by King Charles the Second when reſident in Jerſey, from the Engliſh party. It was conveyed to him by Captain Titus, and apparently refers to the Treaty of Breda.

" Charles, R.

" Truſty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Having received your late addreſs by Captain Titus, we have accordingly given credit to him, and we graciouſly accept thoſe profeſſions he hath made to us in your name, believing that they proceed from perſons who are both able and willing to ſerve us. As concerning your deſires propoſed to us by him, we conceive we have in part anſwered the ſame by appointing a treaty with our ſubjects of Scotland, in which we ſhall likewiſe endeavour to give you further

ſatisfaction in all reaſonable things. To which purpoſe we think fit and deſire that you ſend ſome perſons ſufficiently authorized to be preſent at the treaty, where we doubt not but they may be uſeful to us, and very inſtrumental to the agreement between us and our ſubjects of Scotland, which we ſo much deſire. In the meantime, as we are very ſenſible of thoſe endeavours which we underſtand from Captain Titus you have already uſed to perſuade them to moderation; ſo we entreat you to ſend preſently into Scotland to prevail with them to bring ſuch reaſonable demands to the treaty as, meeting with our inclinations and reſolution to accord all juſt and reaſonable things, may, by the bleſſing of God, produce a full and happy agreement.

"Amongſt other things that we have underſtood of your good affection to us, we cannot but take notice of the courage and conſtancy of the miniſters in their good wiſhes and endeavours for us, which we ſhall not fail to acknowledge effectually both to them and to you, as it ſhall pleaſe God to bleſs our proceedings, and bring any favourable change to our condition. And ſo we bid you heartily farewell.

"Given at our Court in Jerſey the $\frac{28}{13}$th day of January, $16\frac{50}{49}$, in the firſt year of our reign."

Inſtructions (from the Engliſh party) for the Right Honourable Francis Lord Willoughby, of Parham, Major-General Maſſie, Colonel Richard Graves, Alderman James Bunce, and Captain Titus, whom in order to his Majeſtie's Command we have deſired to aſſiſt at the Treaty of Breda.

"1. You are to give his majeſty our humble thanks for the great favour and grace he was pleaſed to do us in his late letter.

"2. You are to give him an account that in order to his command we have deputed you to repreſent our moſt humble opinions and deſires in things concerning us, and to employ all our intereſt to bring this treaty to ſuch a happy cloſe as may give juſt ſatisfaction to all his majeſty's faithful ſervants.

"3. You are to communicate this to the Commiſſioners of Scotland.

"4. You are not to make any particular addreſs to the king from us, but by their advice and approbation; that nothing from us may contradict what comes from them. That in all things a good correſpondency may be preſerved between us according to our covenant, and our enemies may find no advantage to attempt to divide us.

"5. You are in our names to be inſtant with his majeſty to hearken to the juſt deſires of his ſubjects in Scotland, to aſſure him that our ſatiſfaction is bound up in theirs, being both engaged in one common intereſt of the covenant, from which neither of us can recede without a manifeſt violation of our faith both to God and man.

"6. If it ſhall pleaſe God that the king ſatiſfies the deſires of our brethren in Scotland, you are to deſire the aſſiſtance of their honourable commiſſioners in propoſing thoſe particulars to the king in our behalf which we ſend you encloſed.

"7. If you ſhall find reaſon to diſtruſt the iſſue of this treaty, you ſhall then (after all poſſible endeavours to perſuade the king to compliance) communicate to the Scottiſh Commiſſioners thoſe inſtructions which we have ſince ſent you, wherein we ſhall give you no directions as to the managing of them, but leave that to your own diſcretion."

Inſtructions to Captain Titus from Charles the Second, on the occaſion of his proceeding to Paris in 1651, for the purpoſe of having her Majeſtie's opinion on a propoſed Marriage of

Charles with a daughter of the Marquis of Argyle.

Theſe inſtructions apparently reveal an incident in the life of Charles the Second which is little, if at all, known, and are therefore of peculiar intereſt in connection with the memoirs of that monarch. The Earl of Argyle here alluded to was Archibald the eighth Earl, created Marquis of Argyle "in reſpect of the remarkable fidelity and loyalty of his family in former times to the crown," by letters patent bearing date November 15, 1641. In contradiſtinction, however, to this aſſumed family virtue, he, during the civil war, joined with the Parliament, and ſhowed himſelf a zealous aſſerter of the rights of the Preſbyterian church government as then eſtabliſhed. After the death of Charles the Firſt, he contributed much to the favourable reception of the ſecond Charles in Scotland in 1650; and at the ſolemnity of his coronation, January 1ſt, 1651, he placed the crown on his head, but with the evident deſign of forming an alliance between the young king and his only unmarried daughter. By the politic reply of the queen, this ambitious contrivance would ſeem to have been effectually thwarted, and the

affections of the marquis again transferred to Cromwell; as, on the Reſtoration, he was accuſed of high treaſon for correſponding and complying with Cromwell, and beheaded on the 27th of May, 1661.

Argyle had two ſons and three daughters—Ann, who died unmarried, and for whom the crown was deſigned, Jane, married to Robert, firſt Marquis of Lothian; and Mary, to George Earl of Caithneſs; and on his death, to John Earl of Breadalbane.

(Accompanied by a paſſport under the king's own hand and ſeal.)

"Inſtructions for our truſty and well-beloved ſervant, Captain Titus, one of the grooms of our bedchamber.

"Charles, R.

"1. You are with the firſt opportunity to go to Holland, and there to apply yourſelf to ſuch perſons who are friends to our intereſt, and to get particular information from them what is likely to be reſolved and tranſacted there, in relation to England; you are likewiſe to give

them account what is acted and determined here, which may be a means to hinder any reſolution there that (by our enemies' ſuggeſtions) may be taken to our prejudice.

" 2. You are to give us account from thence upon the firſt occaſion how you find affairs there, that we may the better reſolve what we have further to do in relation to thoſe States.

" 3. You are after your deſpatch in Holland to repair to Paris, and there to addreſs yourſelf to the queen our deareſt mother, and to ſuch perſons as ſhe ſhall give you directions to apply yourſelf unto. You are likewiſe to receive my Lord Jermyn's advice in your applications to perſons.

" 4. You are with all ſpeed to return us account what there is there acting, or acted, in relation to England: how you find the Court of France inclined to our intereſt: what reſentment they have of the rebels' peace with Spain, and the late embaſſy and acknowledgment they have received from that king. Laſtly, you are to get the beſt information and advice you can poſſible, whether it would produce any effect to ſend an embaſſador to France, to deſire that king's aſſiſtance, and to renew and confirm the ancient

alliance that hath for ſo many years been between that kingdom and this.

"5. If you find your ſtay neceſſary, you are to give us account of your proceedings by an expreſs, and to attend our further commands; otherwiſe you are to haſten your return.

"Dated at our Court, at Perth, the $\frac{31}{21}$ day of January, 1651. (In the ſecond year of our reign.)"

Private inſtructions from Charles the Second to Captain Titus, who arrived in Paris, March 17, 1657.

"Inſtructions for Captain Titus, one of the grooms of my bedchamber.

"1. Firſt you are with all convenient ſpeed to repair to the queen my mother, and after delivery of my letters, to communicate to her what I here give you in command.

"2. You are to let the queen know, that taking into ſerious conſideration of how much importance the making of a right choice in my marriage may be to my affairs, I would reſolve nothing in a buſineſs of that nature and con-

ſequence, without her privitie, advice, and conſent, for which purpoſe I have now expreſsly ſent you to her.

"3. You are to give the queen account upon what grounds and conſiderations I do thus far propoſe this buſineſs.

"I. That no foreign match can at the preſent be propounded, which does not either appear through ſome impediment or defect infeaſible, or to my intereſt and preſent condition inconſiderable.

"II. That the Marquis of Argyle is a perſon of great intereſt, of a very ancient and noble family, that hath been always loyal to the crown, and ſometimes allied to it, and himſelf, in all transactions between me and my ſubjects of this kingdom, hath particularly merited of me.

"III. I am informed that this marriage will be a great ſatisfaction and ſecurity to all the church and all the Preſbyterian party, and the beſt means to unite all parties, and remove all differences occaſioned by the late troubles.

"IV. The ſtrength of Scotland being united, it will be the greateſt encouragement to all of loyalty in England.

"Theſe conſiderations you ſhall repreſent to

the queen, but with this aſſurance, that I neither am engaged, nor ever ſhall engage in a matter of this importance, without her approbation and conſent.

"4. You are to communicate your meſſage to my Lord Jermin.

"5. You are with all poſſible ſpeed to return with the queen's anſwer, and to omit no opportunity to give me an account of your proceedings in this buſineſs.

"CHARLES, R.

"Falkland, January the 23, 1657."

In Captain Titus' autograph, and apparently the private inſtructions he received from the Marquis of Argyle.

"1. That Scotland acknowledgeth her majeſtie's great favour in her former interpoſition for the procurement of a happy agreement between the king and them.

"2. Her majeſty's advice and approbation of this to the king, will be a great confirmation of that favour, and lay upon them a perpetual obligation.

"3. They are the more encouraged to hope this favour from her majeſtie, ſhe being a daughter of France, with which kingdom Scotland hath had ſo ancient and firm alliance for ſo many ages, which this may be a means to confirm, and procure that kingdom's aſſiſtance to the king.

"4. As to her majeſty particular, Scotland will endeavour that her majeſtie be reſtored to her joynture, and all her other civil rights, and that ſhe may live in a condition anſwerable to the honour and greatneſs of the mother of their king."

"To my Lord Jermain.

"That in this the Preſbyterian party repoſe a great truſt in him, and have a good conſideration of him, and opinion of his affection to them.

"That this will engage them to do him all good offices, both to the king, and any other way in their power.

"This will ſecure him againſt that violent party that are his enemies."

Inſtructions for Captain Titus, from Henrietta Maria, April 15, 1651, on the propoſal of Charles the Second's marriage with the daughter of the Marquis of Argyle, accompanied by a paſſport under the hand and ſeal of her majeſty.

"You are to repair to the king our deareſt ſon, will all convenient ſpeed you ſhall be able.

"1. You are in the firſt place to let him know with how tender a ſenſe I have received this great demonſtration of his kindneſs, that in a matter ſo much importing the future good and bad of his life, as his marriage, and ſo conſequently a thing wherein I muſt neceſſarily be ſo much concerned, he would make no advance nor contract, the leaſt engagement, without communicating to me the firſt overtures.

"2. You are in the next place to let him know, that looking upon this propoſition as no leſs importing then it doth in the nature of it, and by all the circumſtances incident to it, that if I ſhould give him council in it that ſhould not be wiſe, I could not be ſuſpected of offering that which ſhould be inſincere.

"3. You are in the third place to let him

know that I have moſt ſeriouſly and frequently, ſince your being here, taken this matter into my thoughts, and have conſidered all the ſeveral circumſtances relating to it. That I am not uninformed of my Lord of Argyle's ability, credit, or affections, nor how uſefully he hath employed them all for the good and benefit of the king my ſon; that there is nothing new or extraordinary that a perſon ſo well born as the Marquis of Argyle's daughter ſhould be married to the crown; that towards this daughter there can lie no exception in regard of herſelf, ſhe being a perſon of whom I never heard any thing but very good. But it is to be conſidered that the misfortunes under which we are fallen, are of a large extenſion—that the ſettlement of the affairs of Scotland, though it be a great and difficult work, yet not to be reſted in without the recovery of England—that the kingdom of England, upon very great claims, is like to require a part in a council in which it is ſo much concerned, and would take themſelves to be too juſtly offended, if by a preſent concluſion of the thing in queſtion they ſhould find themſelves excluded totally from it. That even Scotland itſelf may not be without parties very conſiderable to the preſent affairs, that would be ſo far

perhaps from concurring now to this matter, that a finiſhing of it might induce a moſt unſeaſonable irritation of them.

"4. You are in the fourth place to let the king our deareſt ſon know, that upon theſe conſiderations ſo irreſiſtibly preſſing againſt a preſent concluſion, that I cannot think fit to give any other advice than that the thing remain for a while in the ſame eſtate it doth, by which he will have the opportunity, if the difficulties that now occur ſhould be removed, to go then ſeaſonably through with it. He will alſo avoid the inconveniences that have been repreſented for Scotland, which are not a little perilous; and the kingdom of England will have no cauſe to complain if the ſuſpenſion of the reſolutions leave them the means of being ſeaſonably conſulted in a matter wherein they are ſo much concerned, and ſo like to pretend to have a part in the councils belonging to it.

"HENRIETTA MARIA, REGINA."

THE END.

ERRATA.

At page 96, line 9, *for* "Cromwell," *read* "the Parliament."

At page 137, line 7, *for* "Suffolk," *read* "Kent."

At page 249, line 22, *for* "is," *read* "are."

At page 256, line 23, *for* "Septr. 15," *read* "Septr. 30."

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